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SLAVERY AND ABOLITION IN BRAZIL

Of the various social and political problems whose solution has taxed the best statesmanship of Hispanic America, none has exceeded in difficulty the abolition of negro slavery in Brazil. The institution of slavery cast its sinister shadow over the whole life-span of the Brazilian Empire and the successive advances of the emancipation movement, culminating in total abolition in 1888, absorbed for several decades much of the thought and energy of the Brazilian people. It was inevitable, moreover, that an issue of such magnitude should directly or indirectly have its repercussions far beyond the confines of Brazil. Especially was this true of the slavetrade which flourished until the middle of the nineteenth century, although it had been declared illegal as early as 1830. The inability or unwillingness of Brazil to abolish this traffic during the last twenty years of its existence involved the empire in a bitter and protracted diplomatic controversy with Great Britain. The persistence of legalized slavery, almost to the end of the last century, set Brazil apart from other civilized nations and inflicted upon that country a stigma that was not entirely merited. Brazil's efforts to rid itself of this somber legacy of its colonial past was followed with eager interest by the world at large and its final success in 1888 was everywhere hailed as a landmark in the progress of humanity. In the present brief survey, an effort will be made to discuss the origin of negro slavery in Brazil, its gradual extension through the slave-trade, the place which it occupied in the

social, economic, and even political fabric of the state, and finally the successful efforts of the Brazilian people to free themselves from this incubus without bloodshed or serious economic dislocation.

The importation of negroes into Brazil was from the first regarded as both logical and necessary. The Portuguese colonists, few in number, striving to cope with a nature so prolific as to be almost malevolent, had to utilize servile labor if their foothold in Brazil was to be permanent. For a time the settlers in their desperation fell back upon the indigenous races. Thousands of Indians were secured by organized raids into the interior and forced to labor on the plantations. But their services proved woefully inadequate. They either languished or died in captivity or contrived to escape to their native forests. Moreover, the colonists had to face the unrelenting opposition of the Jesuits who arrogated to themselves the right to act as protectors of the Indians. It was natural, therefore, that the Portuguese settlers should turn their attention more and more to the teeming population of Africa. One of the most recent writers on this subject, Dr. Pandiá Calogeras, estimates that the annual importation of negro slaves rose to 44,000 in the seventeenth century and to 55,000 in the eighteenth.¹ The horrible cruelties and sufferings which accompanied the traffic beggar description. The mortality frequently rose to thirty or even forty per cent of the human cargo carried by "these floating coffins" (*tumbeiros*), as the slave ships were described in Angola. If the loss did not exceed twenty per cent the slaver was fully satisfied with the success of his voyage.²

Black Importation ✓

¹ *Formação Historica do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1930), p. 53.

² Calogeras, *loc. cit.* Braz Hermengildo do Amaral, "Os grandes mercados de escravos africanos. As tribus importadas. Sua distribuição regional", in *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, tomo especial, Congresso International de Historia de America, V. (1895), 355 ff. Braz do Amaral points out that some effort was made to mitigate the horrors of the traffic. A royal order of March 18, 1684, for instance, contained detailed provisions for the comfort and proper nourishment of the slaves during the voyage. Each ship was to carry a

effect on ethnicity

Three centuries of unrestricted slavetrade had left an indelible stamp on the ethnic complexion of Brazil.³ Although no absolutely reliable statistics are available, there is good reason to believe that on the eve of Brazilian independence the number of negro slaves exceeded the white population. On the basis of figures compiled in 1817 and 1818, the population of Brazil (exclusive of uncivilized Indians) was calculated at 1,143,000 whites, 1,930,000 negro slaves, 585,000 freedmen, and 249,400 civilized Indians, making a total of 3,817,000.⁴

As is well known, the initiative for the destruction of this infamous traffic came from England. Great Britain's motives in launching and carrying out this great crusade have been characterized as both philanthropic and philistine.⁵ Spurred to action by the indefatigable efforts of a group of humanitarians led by Sharpe, Clarkson, and Wilberforce,⁶ Great Britain, in 1807, had abolished the slave trade in its own colonies. Animated by the same high motives, the leaders of the reform then turned their attention to the worst offender among the European powers, the kingdom of Portugal. But the agitation of these idealists was reënforced by the efforts of certain powerful British financial interests. The chief danger which the British West Indies had to face was over-production of their staple crop, sugar. This menace could be removed, at least in part, by the abolition of the slavetrade within the British dominions, for the resultant lack of labor would check the expansion of sugar growing. But such a remedy would be worse than useless if the British West Indies had to compete with the enormous increase of sugar cultivation to minister to the spiritual needs of the slaves. The text of order is given in *op. cit.*, pp. 445-452.

³ Affonso Claudio, "As tres raças na sociedade colonial", in *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, tomo especial, Congresso Internacional de Historia de America, XI (1927), 317-378.

⁴ A. Balbi, *Statistique de Portugal et du Brésil*, quoted by Pereira da Silva, *História da Fundação do Império Brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1864-1868), IV. 261.

⁵ C. R. Fish, *American Diplomacy* (New York, 1923), p. 236.

⁶ Cf. João Pandiá Calogeras, "A Campanha de Wilberforce", in *A Política Exterior do Império* (Rio de Janeiro, 1927), I. Chap. XI.

tion in Brazil made possible by the unrestricted importation of negro slaves.

There were two possible ways out of this dilemma: prohibition of commercial intercourse between Brazil and Great Britain or the abolition of the Portuguese slavetrade. The first alternative was impossible in view of the enormous stake which England had in her commerce with Portugal and its great trans-Atlantic colony. To the second alternative Great Britain now addressed itself.

In the ensuing diplomatic negotiations, the British foreign office enjoyed a great strategic advantage which it was quick to capitalize. The transference of the Portuguese court to Brazil in 1808 with the shifting of the seat of the Braganza monarchy from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro had been made possible only through the timely assistance of the British fleet. In fact, the fugitives had barely left the Tagus when the French troops under Junot poured into the capital. The Portuguese crown paid for this service by agreeing to the commercial treaty of 1810, which proved to be the basis of British economic and commercial preëminence in Brazil destined to last to our own day. In Article 10 of this instrument, the Prince-Regent of Portugal, later known as Dom João VI., "convinced of the bad policy and injustice of the slave-trade" agreed to second the efforts of Great Britain by prohibiting his subjects from engaging in a traffic beyond the confines of his African possessions.⁷ Three years later, the prince declared in an *alvará* or official rescript, dated November 24, 1813

that this traffic was ignominious and impossible to envisage without horror and indignation and was carried on in defiance of all natural and divine laws.⁸

⁷ José Ferreira Borges de Castro, *Collecção dos tratados, convenções, contratos e actos públicos celebrados entre a corôa de Portugal e as mais potencias desde 1640 até ao presente* (6 vols., Lisboa, 1856-1857), LV. 409 ff. M. de Oliveira Lima, *Dom João VI no Brasil* (2 vols. Rio de Janeiro, 1908), I. 415.

⁸ Agenor de Roure, "A Escravidão de 1808 a 1888", in *Jornal do Commercio*, September 28, 1906. A comprehensive article dealing with the legislation devoted to slavery and abolition.

These pious but innocuous declarations led to no relaxation of pressure on the part of Great Britain. It will be remembered that one of the chief aims of British diplomacy at the Congress of Vienna was to secure a general agreement among the powers relative to the abolition of the traffic. In the case of Portugal, which was the worst offender, this aim was only partially realized. By the terms of a treaty signed January 22, 1815, the Portuguese slavetrade in all parts of Africa north of the equator was declared to be thenceforth illegal; at the same time, the Portuguese government engaged to determine by a subsequent treaty the period at which the Portuguese slavetrade should cease universally.⁹

The weakness of the Treaty of 1815 lay in the absence of all machinery designed to enforce its provisions. To remedy this defect, Great Britain succeeded in extorting from Portugal an additional convention, that of July 28, 1817,¹⁰ which stipulated *inter alia* that the ships of war of each nation should have the right to search and visit any merchant vessels of the two nations operating north of the line, which might be suspected of having slaves on board. Slavers captured under the conditions were to be brought for adjudication before two mixed commissions, one in Sierra Leone and the other in Brazil, established *ad hoc*. By an additional article, signed on September 11 of the same year, it was agreed that the provisions regarding the right of search and the establishment of the special tribunals were to remain in effect fifteen years after the complete abolition of the traffic.¹¹

After the separation of Brazil from Portugal in 1822 the new Brazilian Empire naturally did not consider itself bound

⁹ Borges de Castro, *op. cit.*, V. 18 ff.; *British and Foreign State Papers*, III. (1815-1816), 398; *Hertslett's Treaties*, II. 72.

¹⁰ Borges de Castro, V. 324 ff.; *British and Foreign State Papers*, IV. (1816-1817), 85 ff.

¹¹ Martens, *Nouveau Recueil de Traitéés*, I. 478. Cf. Jane E. Adams, "The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade", in *Journal of Negro History*, X. no. 4, pp. 615-616 (October, 1925), and L. F. Hill, *Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and Brazil* (Durham, N. C., 1932), p. 111.

by the treaties concluded between its former metropolis and England. But to the British government such an attitude was quite unacceptable and the foreign office proceeded to bring strong pressure upon Brazil, not only to gain its adhesion to the treaty of 1817, but also to secure an agreement looking to the total abolition of the traffic. In the diplomatic game which ensued, Great Britain apparently held the trump cards. Without British recognition, the new empire's international status was more than precarious and the London government was not slow in pushing home its advantage. As early as November, 1822, Great Britain offered to recognize Brazilian independence on condition that the young emperor, Dom Pedro I., abolish the traffic.¹² Even had Dom Pedro been sincerely desirous of doing away with the slavetrade it was beyond his power. This was made abundantly clear when José Bonifacio, the minister of state of Dom Pedro, and the "Patriarch of Independence" told the English consul, Chamberlain, in April, 1823, that while he heartily detested the traffic any attempt to abolish it would endanger the existence of the government. He, therefore, refused to undertake an international promise that he was unable to fulfill. Yet he personally wished that English "cruisers would take every slave ship encountered at sea", for "they are the gangrene of our prosperity".¹³

It is unnecessary to rehearse in detail the complicated negotiations which culminated in the recognition of the Brazilian Empire by Great Britain in 1825.¹⁴ The most important *quid pro quo* offered by Brazil was the treaty signed November 23, 1826, by which the Rio de Janeiro government ac-

¹² Canning to Chamberlain, Foreign Office, 63/257, cited by Alan K. Manchester, *British Preeminence in Brazil; its Rise and Decline* (MS). The writer of the present article desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to Professor Manchester who kindly permitted him to inspect the manuscript of his forthcoming monograph.

¹³ Chamberlain to Canning, April 2, 1823, Foreign Office, 63/259, *apud* Manchester, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ Cf. M. de Oliveira Lima, *O Reconhecimento do Imperio* (Rio de Janeiro, 1902), *passim*; and Calogeras, *A Politica Exterior do Imperio*, II. Chap. IX.

cepted the terms of the Anglo-Portuguese agreements of 1817 *verbatim* and agreed furthermore that at the expiration of three years after the ratification of the treaty the slavetrade should cease utterly and all ships engaged in the traffic after that date were to be considered as pirates.¹⁵ The treaty was ratified March 13, 1827¹⁶, and as a consequence the traffic became illegal after March 13, 1830. As a natural corollary to the treaty of 1826 the Brazilian General Assembly on November 7, 1831, passed a law which declared that all slaves illegally imported into Brazil automatically became free.¹⁷

For the next two decades no serious efforts were made by the Brazilian government to carry out the provisions of the treaty of 1826. Public opinion, with rare exceptions, not only tolerated but approved of the traffic. Immense sums, chiefly furnished by Portuguese capitalists, were employed to finance the trade. It has long been known that citizens of the United States, taking advantage of the refusal of our government to sign with Great Britain a treaty granting mutual right of search, were also involved in the traffic; but thanks to the recent investigations of Professor Hill of the Ohio State University in the archives of our state department the full extent of this participation has been established. This is a melancholy chapter in our history which we cannot take up here, but one paragraph from the despatch sent by Minister Proffitt under date of February 27, 1844, to our government is worth quoting:

It is not a fact to be disguised or denied, that the slave trade is almost entirely carried on under our flag and in American vessels sold here (i.e., Rio de Janeiro) chartered for the coast of Africa to slave traders. Indeed the scandalous traffic could not be carried on to

¹⁵ The most recent writer to make clear the connection between British recognition of the Brazilian Empire and the treaty of 1827 is Alan K. Manchester in his article, "The Paradoxical Pedro, First Emperor of Brazil", in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XII. 191 (May, 1932).

¹⁶ Martens, *Nouveau Recueil de Traité*s, VI. 1087; Cf. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

¹⁷ An English translation of this law may be found in *U. S. Doc.*, Serial No. 543, p. 86.

any extent were it not for the use of our flag, and the facilities given by the chartering of American vessels to carry to the coast of Africa the outfit for the trade and the materials for purchasing slaves.¹⁸

The profits from the trade were immense. Lord Howden, former British minister to Brazil, testified before a select committee of the house of lords that

a good-sized slaver, with a good cargo, without being very full, and at a high valuation for purchase, wages and food, medicine and price of slaves, costs about 5,000 pounds, and the return cargo of human beings sells for about 25,000 pounds, that is to say about 500 per cent profit.¹⁹

Owing to the configuration of the Brazilian coast, separated from the open sea by reefs extending for hundreds of miles, it was easy to avoid capture once the slaver had crossed the Atlantic. The methods employed to elude the vigilance of the patrolling cruisers have a strangely modern sound. To quote Lord Howden again:

The whole system of shore signals is brought to a degree of perfection that is quite extraordinary when you recollect the extent of the country. The boats go out to reconnoitre, and some being catamarans, as in the waters of Bahia and Pernambuco, they are hardly visible. When they see the cruisers, they sound immense horns, which are heard upon the shore, and up goes a fire upon the hill as a beacon, which is repeated along the coast: it is impossible for anything to be more perfectly managed: all the appliances of this trade are brought to a degree of perfection that is astonishing and which nothing but the immense profit can explain. The slaves too, are now landed in large flat-bottomed boats, which are filled with amazing celerity. The slaver does not even anchor, and after getting rid of her cargo, and perhaps part of her equipment, returns to Rio or Bahia . . . in ballast.²⁰

Although no accurate statistics on the number of slaves illegally introduced into Brazil are available, the detailed re-

¹⁸ Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

¹⁹ Great Britain, *Sessional Papers*, 1850, IX., Report no. 53, p. 23.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

ports of British diplomatic and consular agents furnish some notion of the extent of the traffic.²¹ A Brazilian writer, Pereira Pinto, on the basis of the data assembled by the British foreign office, calculates that the yearly average importation for the decade 1842-1852 was over 32,000.²² Other estimates are much higher—Nabuco placed it at 50,000 per year²³—and it is not unlikely that nearly a million of these unfortunates were brought to Brazil in violation of the law.²⁴ The eminent Brazilian historian, Dr. Oliveira Lima, told the writer of this article that as a young man he knew personally many negroes born in Africa.

The tension between Great Britain and Brazil over the latter's failure to suppress the traffic all but led to a break in diplomatic relations when the Rio de Janeiro foreign office announced in 1845 that the abolition convention of 1826 had expired and would not be renewed.²⁵ This convention, it will

²¹ The reports appear in almost every number of the *British and Foreign State Papers* for the period under review. Much material is also to be found in the *Sessional Papers*.

²² Osorio Duque-Estrada, *A Abolição* (Rio de Janeiro, 1918), p. 20.

²³ Joaquim Nabuco, *O Abolicionismo* (Londres, 1883), p. 95.

²⁴ The lot of these "free Africans" (*Africanos livres*) was a wretched one. Nominally under the protection of the government they were employed on public works or hired out to private individuals or companies. So ineffective was the official control that the bulk of these negroes was soon assimilated in the slave population and largely lost sight of. Sporadic attempts to return them to Africa were failures. In 1853, through the efforts of Nabuco de Araujo, father of the famous Joaquim Nabuco, a law was passed declaring free (*emancipados*) all *Africanos livres* who has been employed under contract for more than fourteen years. On this topic, cf. Agostinho Marques Perdigão Malheiro, *A Escravidão no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1866-1867), pt. III., 63-71 (who declares that the lot of the *emancipados* was worse than that of the slaves). Evaristo de Moraes, "A Escravidão da Supressão do Trafico à Lei Aurea", in the *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, tomo especial, III. 245 ff. (1927), and another article with the same title by Affonso Toledo Bandeira de Mello, *ibid.*, pp. 391 ff. W. D. Christie devotes Chapters I-IV of his *Notes on Brazil* (London, 1865) to this topic.

²⁵ *British and Foreign State Papers*, 1845-1846, p. 689. The exasperation of Great Britain at Brazil's refusal or inability to suppress the traffic was doubtless due in part to the enormous expenses to which the British government had been put. According to the *London Times*, the cost of maintaining the cruisers

be recalled, had served as a basis for the mixed tribunals at Sierra Leone and Rio de Janeiro and had given the British cruisers the right to visit and search Brazilian ships suspected of being engaged in the slavetrade. If the treaty were now allowed to elapse, Great Britain would be deprived of the only two weapons by means of which the traffic had been kept within any kind of bounds. The Brazilian government, on the other hand, had long chafed at the provisions of the treaty of 1826. It had been forced upon Brazil at the behest of a stronger power and was regarded as derogatory to the dignity and self-respect of the nation.

Faced with the unpleasant alternative of virtually abandoning its efforts to suppress the slavetrade or of devising ways to bring additional pressure on the Brazilian Empire, Great Britain chose the latter course. In 1845, Lord Aberdeen introduced into parliament a bill providing for the trial of all cases of vessels captured for carrying on the slave-trade by British admiralty and vice-admiralty courts instead of by the mixed commission sitting at Sierra Leone and Rio de Janeiro. The British government attempted to justify its action on the ground that the declaration of piracy contained in the first article of the treaty of 1826 was perpetual, a contention emphatically denied by Brazil.²⁶ The resentment of the Rio de Janeiro government at the high handed action of Great Britain was intense. In a ten-page official protest presented to the British minister at Rio de Janeiro, the Brazilian minister of foreign affairs declared that the Aberdeen Bill violated "the most clear and positive principles of the Law of Nations" and constituted an infringement "upon the sovereign rights and independence" of Brazil.²⁷ Copies of this protest were submitted to all of the friendly powers.

amounted to 650,000 pounds annually. Quoted by Perdigão Malheiro, *op. cit.*, pt. III. 58, n.

²⁶ The text of the Aberdeen Bill will be found in Great Britain, *Statutes at Large*, 8 and 9 Vict., 1845, Chap. CXII, pp. 1257-1260.

²⁷ Quoted by Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

The first results of the passage of the Aberdeen Bill were deplorable. According to the official estimates of the Brazilian government, the number of slaves introduced into the empire rose from 19,453 in 1845 to over 60,000 in 1848.²⁸ When it became evident that the Aberdeen Bill was defeating its own object, Great Britain resorted to even more drastic measures. In 1850, orders were received by British cruisers to enter Brazilian territorial waters, including ports, rivers, and bays, and seize all ships fitted for the slave traffic.²⁹

To all patriotic Brazilians the situation was rapidly becoming intolerable. The continuation of the slavetrade was not only bringing Brazil and Great Britain to the verge of severance of relations and possibly of war, but the enormous expansion of a traffic which everyone recognized as illegal was a sorry reflection on the impotence of the Brazilian government. The young emperor, Dom Pedro II., keenly sensitive to foreign criticism of Brazil, declared that he would prefer to abdicate rather than see the trade continue.³⁰ The fact, too, that the chief beneficiaries of the traffic were foreigners, especially Portuguese³¹ and North Americans, tended to render it more unpopular.

That the slavetrade came to a sudden and spectacular end was owing in large part to the energy of the minister of justice, Eusebio de Queiroz, the author of the famous law of September 4, 1850. This law reaffirmed the traffic to be piracy, established the right of seizure on the mere grounds of equipment for trade, provided that clearance papers were to be granted only to those ships bound for Africa which gave security for the total value of the ship and goods, and finally

²⁸ Brazil, Ministerio das Relações Exteriores, *Relatorio*, 1851, Annex B, no. 19.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Annex., no. 25.

³⁰ Oliveira Lima, *Formation historique de la nationalité Brésilienne* (Paris, 1911), p. 240.

³¹ The hostility to the Portuguese traders, many of whom held mortgages on the estates of the *fazendeiros*, was intense. Cf. the speech of Eusebio de Queiroz, the author of the famous law of 1850, before the chamber of deputies, July 16, 1852 (quoted by Evaristo de Moraes, *op. cit.*, pp. 245 ff.).

ordered that those implicated in the traffic were to be tried, not before juries in which acquittal was almost certain, but before admiralty courts enjoying the full support and authority of the central government.³² The law was carried out ruthlessly with the result that only a little over 3,000 slaves were imported in 1851 and barely 700 in 1852.³³ No slaves were brought the next year. Great Britain finally repealed the Aberdeen Bill in 1869.³⁴

The abolition of the slavetrade was followed by a profound calm which was destined to last the better part of two decades. As in the United States a sharp distinction was drawn between the slavetrade and slavery as a local institution. The same men who inveighed most bitterly against the iniquities of the traffic in slaves found nothing reprehensible in holding several millions of Africans in bondage. Although it is generally agreed that the slave population reached its apogee in the late fifties and early sixties, reliable figures are lacking. W. D. Christie, for a time British minister to Brazil, sets the number of slaves in the early sixties as three millions.³⁵ The learned priest, Father Pompeo, in his *Geographia* published in 1864³⁶ claims that the slave population numbered only 1,715,000 out of a total of 10,045,000 for the

³² The text of the law is given in *British and Foreign State Papers*, 1850-1851, XXIX, 1060 ff. and in Perdigão Malheiro, pt. III., appendix no. 2.

³³ J. Pandiá Calogerás, *Formação Historica do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1930), p. 275. Two attempts were made to land slaves in 1856 but the negroes were practically all captured and freed.

³⁴ Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 116. Lack of space precludes a discussion of one important topic namely, the economic results of the suppression of the traffic. It is sufficient to note that, according to Castro Carreira, *Historia Financeira do Imperio*, the cessation of the slavetrade resulted in a veritable "boom" in which a vast expansion took place in railroads, telegraph lines, and improvements of all kinds (quoted by Agenor de Roure, in *Revista do Instituto Historico*, pt. 83, p. 321, 1918). According to Affonso Toledo, *op. cit.*, p. 391, the value of agricultural products rose from 55,000 contos in 1851 to 67,000 contos in 1852. Imports and exports reveal a similar increase. Cf. Perdigão Malheiro, pt. II., p. 60, where the figures for foreign trade for the years 1850-1866 are analyzed.

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

³⁶ P. 377.

entire empire. Other conjectures—for they are little more—run from two and a half to four millions,³⁷ out of a total population estimated at from eight to eleven millions. In any event, from one-fourth to one-third of the inhabitants of Brazil were slaves and in the provinces of the littoral between Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco the number of slaves probably exceeded the free population.³⁸

Any detailed investigation of the conditions and status of the Brazilian slaves would have to take into account their local African origins. Unfortunately such a survey is beyond the scope of this paper. It may be noted in passing, however, that the natives of Angola and the Congo region, possibly because of their familiarity with slavery in Africa, were much more tractable and amenable to discipline than the natives of the Gold Coast and Benin. These latter were for the most part Mohammedans and clung tenaciously to their beliefs after they had been removed to America. Some even continued to speak Arabic. They maintained their secret organizations and employed a form of writing known only to the initiated.³⁹ Especially was this true of the Minas who, though excellent workers, remained proud-spirited and assertive. In localities such as Bahia, where they were especially numerous, the fear of revolt was never entirely absent.⁴⁰

³⁷ E. Reclus, "Le Brésil et la Colonisation", in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, July 15, 1862. Dr. Sebastião F. Soares in his *Elementos de estatística* (Rio de Janeiro, 1865) accounts for 1,400,000 slaves out of a population of 11,780,000. In the official handbook *O Brasil na Exposição de Paris em 1867* (Rio de Janeiro, 1867) the same number of slaves is given but the total population is calculated at only 9,880,000.

³⁸ The German scientist Hermann Burmeister (*Reise nach Brasilien*, Berlin, 1853, p. 581), after careful study, estimated the population of Rio de Janeiro in 1850 as follows: native whites, 77,989; foreigners, 36,329; slaves, 78,835; free negroes, 10,722; total 295,905. In the interior of the littoral provinces, the proportion of slaves to freemen was naturally higher than in the cities.

³⁹ Robert Ave-Lallement, *Reise durch Nord-Brasilien* (Leipzig, 1860), Erster Theil, p. 47.

⁴⁰ Mary W. Williams, "The Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Brazilian Empire: a Comparison with the United States of America", in *Revista do Instituto*

Before taking up the various types of slaves in Brazil one generalization regarding slavery as an institution may be hazarded. While the slaveowners in our anti-bellum south were frequently on the defensive and felt it incumbent upon them to defend the institution by falling back, if need be, on divine sanction, it rarely occurred to the Brazilian slave-owner of the fifties that slavery needed any defense. Slavery had become so completely identified with Brazilian life and Brazilian interests that the state itself owned slaves and employed them in public undertakings. Convents and monasteries had their staff of domestic slaves who were assumed to be the property of St. Benedict or St. Dominic. The hospitals of the large cities employed female slaves as wet-nurses for foundlings.⁴¹ According to the German traveler Ave-Lallemant,⁴² quack doctors ran advertisements in the papers for worn-out or brokendown slaves whom they might put on their feet again and sell at a profit. Apparently there are instances of slaves owning slaves.

The abolition of the traffic wrought a marked improvement in the condition of the slaves. When the slavetrade was flourishing, the laborers were worked to the limit of their endurance and died or were discarded when their usefulness was over, on the theory that it was cheaper to secure fresh recruits than to safeguard the present supply and build up a slave population. But with the cessation of the traffic there was a

Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Congreso Internacional de Historia da America, tomo especial, I. 273-292 (1925).

⁴¹ The anonymous author of *Briefe aus Brasilien* (Frankfurt am Main, 1857) who spent some twenty years in Brazil has some curious details regarding these slaves. They were rented by owners to private individuals for 20 to 30 shillings a month. They remained in a family for a year or a year and a half. When the nurses had no more milk they were rented to orphan asylums, where each nurse had twelve foundlings to care for. According to the author (pp. 29-30), the mortality in these institutions fluctuated between 90 and 95 per cent.

⁴² Quoted by Reclus, *loc. cit.*

sharp rise in the value of the slaves and their owners had every incentive to treat them well.⁴⁸

Broadly speaking there were three classes of slaves in Brazil.⁴⁴ In the large cities there was naturally a large number of domestic servants, amounting to at least 100,000. Their lot was in the main an easy one and they are generally described as indolent and inefficient.⁴⁵ Ill-treatment of domestic servants in Brazil, though not unknown, was comparatively rare.⁴⁶

A large and important class of urban slaves was known as *negros de ganho*. The members of this group, which numbered perhaps a quarter of a million, were left more or less to their own ways and devices as long as they proved a source of income to their masters. They were accustomed, usually on their own initiative, to organize themselves into bands of workers, select a leader, and offer their services as porters, stevedores, or longshoremen. They were preceded by a kind of musician who urged them on by shaking a quantity of buck-

⁴⁸ According to the report of the British consul at Rio de Janeiro, the price of male slaves in 1865 fluctuated between £107 and £193 for those in agriculture and labor and from £129 to £214 for those in domestic service. The price of female slaves in the same occupations were from £107 to £160 and from £107 to £193 respectively. Christie, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

"One aspect of the negro problem which must be omitted owing to lack of space is the legal status of the slaves. The subject, a rather complicated one, is analyzed at great length by Perdigão Malheiro, *op. cit.*, pt. I. ("O escravo ante as leis positivas"). The learned writer draws an elaborate parallel between the Roman and Brazilian legislation regarding slavery. The subject is deserving of further investigation.

"The Frenchman, Dr. Louis Couty, for two years a resident of Brazil and professor in the Polytechnic School in Rio de Janeiro declared: "Si un domestique d'Europe faisait, à Paris son service comme la plupart des esclaves de Rio, s'il était aussi exigeant pour sa nourriture, aussi paresseux, aussi peu obéissant, il arriverait rapidement à ne trouver à se placer nulle part, c'est-à-dire, à mourir de faim." He adds that a European family of very modest pretensions which would be satisfied with one servant in Paris requires four slaves in Brazil. *L'Esclavage au Brésil*, (Paris, 1881), p. 45.

"Gilberto Freyre, "Social Life in Brazil in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century", in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, V. (November, 1922), 609.

shot in a gourd, at the same time they encouraged each other by a kind of rhythmic chant sung in unison.⁴⁷ A similar freedom of action was accorded artizans, masons, carpenters, carriers of parcels for shoppers, and street merchants.⁴⁸ In the cattle country of Rio Grande do Sul and Paraná was a somewhat similar group of slaves known as *campairos*. They lived their own life on distant ranches or *estancias*, and frequently owned their own cattle.⁴⁹ All of these *negros de ganho* had one common obligation; they were required to turn into their masters at regular intervals a certain amount of their earnings. In the case of the port laborers it was usually 2 1/2 milreis (about \$1.25) daily. If they were fortunate they could sometimes make as much as 10 milreis and the difference they were permitted to keep and apply toward the purchase of their freedom. They were frequently encouraged by their masters to instruct themselves and there was no legislation prohibiting the whites from teaching them to read and write.⁵⁰ Among these "half-free" negroes were to be found many Minas who were too independent and unmanageable to make good house servants.

The overwhelming majority of the slaves—at least five-sixths—were to be found on the plantations. These estates were frequently of immense extent; Dr. Kidder, one of our best authorities, visited a coffee plantation in Minas Geraes with an area of sixty-four square miles.⁵¹ Such domains were

⁴⁷ "Reclus, *loc. cit.*; A. d'Assier, "Le Brésil et la société brésilienne; moeurs et paysages", in *Revue des Deux Mondes* June 1, 1863, *passim*; Burmeister, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

⁴⁸ The occupations in which these slaves were engaged were also followed by free negroes. The latter could usually be distinguished by their footgear as the slaves generally went barefooted. Burmeister, p. 90.

⁴⁹ Couty, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁵⁰ Reclus, *loc. cit.* On the other hand the public authorities not only made no provision for the instruction of the slaves but by legislation passed in 1854 and 1864 forbade their presence in the public schools, including the first grade. The only exception was the case of slaves belonging to the nation. Perdigão Malheiro, *op. cit.*, pt. II, p. 119.

⁵¹ Fletcher and Kidder, *Brazil and the Brazilians* (Philadelphia, 1857), p. 606.

socially and economically self-sustaining units, producing almost everything needed for their own consumption. Their owners were literally lords of all they surveyed and paid scant heed to the civil authorities in the distant provincial or national capital.⁵² In this patriarchial society, the condition of the slaves naturally depended in large part on the character of their masters. Fortunately, the majority of the planters were kindly and easy-going, and took a genuine interest in the welfare of their slaves. The slaves not only had Sundays to themselves but on many plantations they were released from labor on the thirty-five other religious holidays included in the Catholic calendar. Many planters gave their slaves a free Saturday every fortnight to labor on the patches of ground assigned to their personal use.⁵³ Housing conditions differed little from those on the better-run plantations of our own south, while thanks to the tropical climate the Brazilian slaves had little to fear from cold or exposure. On the larger plantations the dwellings were usually grouped about a court, with one or two sides forming the slave quarters, though frequently the negroes had single cabins. The windows were innocent of glass and the furnishings were of the simplest. The fare was usually abundant. The breakfast of the slaves consisted of a porridge made of manioc flour, generally with fruits and a little rum: at midday they were served substantial portions of meat or fish, in the evening rice, vegetables, and black beans. The latter—known as *feijão*, was the *pièce de résistance* and constituted an indispensable article of diet for whites and blacks alike. Jerked beef, sugar, and coffee were sometimes added to the slaves' fare.

The health of the slaves was not neglected. On the larger and better managed estates were to be found excellent infirmaries, large and well aired, a pharmacy well supplied with drugs from Paris and London, and an interne or doctor in attendance. In case the owner could not afford the continued

⁵² Fletcher and Kidder, *op. cit.*, p. 522.

⁵³ D'Assier, *loc. cit.*

services of a physician arrangements were made for frequent and periodical visits.⁵⁴ Often the wife of the owner ministered to the sick slaves herself.

On most plantations the spiritual life of the slaves received scant attention. Priests were found only on the larger estates and the religious notions of the slaves were of the crudest character, consisting of little more than an amalgam of superstitions imported from Africa and a debased form of Catholicism. Yet it was customary to baptize slave children and in theory the black was the equal of his white brother in the sight of God. Before retiring for the night, the slaves asked a blessing of their master and mistress while holding out their right hands. The reply was a "Deus te abençoe" (God bless you) accompanied by the sign of the cross. In most cases, however, this ceremony had degenerated into a perfunctory mumble.⁵⁵

Irregularities between the sexes were common and occasioned no comment or protest. On many estates the attractive mulatto girls served as a disguised harem for the owner and his sons.⁵⁶ Though marriage among the slaves was encouraged by the priests and by some of the owners no undue importance was attached to this ceremony. According to Dr. Couty, who was thoroughly familiar with conditions in Brazil, many of the planters gave up any attempt to regulate marriages and allowed the slaves of both sexes to mingle freely during two or three hours each evening. The majority of slave children, according to him, were ignorant of the names of their fathers.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ D'Assier, *loc. cit.*; Couty, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁵⁵ A wealth of material on the relations of slaves to their masters is given by Affonso Toledo, *op. cit.*, pp. 391-393.

⁵⁶ Cf. Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 608 and Williams, *passim*.

⁵⁷ Cf. also Perdigão Malheiro, pt. III, Chap. III.

⁵⁸ Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 611.

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 75. Cf. Alexander Caldeleugh, *Travels in South America* (London, 1825), I. 25, where conditions in earlier decades are described. According to Burmeister, p. 88, the owners were reluctant to encourage marriage, as custom (and later law) decreed that man and wife should not be sold separately. "Eigen-

One of the most repellent features of the system was the overseer or *feitor*. He was the confidant of the *fazendeiro* and the terror of the slaves. Usually he was a mulatto, chosen for his ruthlessness, strength of body, and capacity for extracting labor from the slaves. To the feitor was generally entrusted the congenial task of administering punishment.⁵⁸ For minor offenses the *palmatora*, a kind of ruler or the *chicote* (whip) was used. In the case of more serious offenses, such as attempted flight, the lash (*açoites*) was applied.⁵⁹ Such would-be fugitives frequently had to wear an iron collar, adorned with two prongs pointing upward. Successful evasion was rare. The slave was usually captured by professional slave-hunters known as *capitães do matto* (literally "captains of the forest"). Each plantation was equipped with a slave prison with shackles, stocks, and thumb-screws to extract confessions, although torture was forbidden by law. The larger cities maintained public flogging places to which the owner could turn over his slaves for punishment. This practice, though frequently followed by foreign slaveowners, was deprecated by the Brazilians as being too heartless.⁶⁰ Occasionally, one saw slaves whose faces were covered by a leaden mask to prevent them from eating clay.⁶¹ For really serious offenses, such as murder, the slave in Brazil was apt to receive a lighter punishment than did freedmen. An English traveler, who visited South America in the fifties, declared that any of his fellow-countrymen in Brazil would have suffered capital punishment or expulsion for crimes for which

liche Ehen werden selten nicht unter Sklaven geduldet, weil sie nicht wieder zu trennen sind und man deshalb keinen von beiden Gatten einzeln verkaufen darf."

"The laws for the punishment of slaves were draconian in their severity. *Lei* num. 4 of June 10, 1835, provided that slaves were to be punished by death if they were guilty of murder or of any "grave physical offense" against their master or his family or against the administrator or his wife. They were to be tried before a local court from whose judgment there was no appeal. *Collecção das Leis do Imperio do Brasil de 1835* (Rio de Janeiro, 1864), pt. I, p. 5.

⁵⁸ F. Biard, *Deux Années au Brésil* (Paris, 1862), p. 180.

⁵⁹ Caldeleugh, *op. cit.*, I. 84.

⁶⁰ Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 606.

slaves were merely flogged.⁶² This moderation was due to the natural kindness of the Brazilians as well as to the reluctance of the owner to lose the services of his slave. The French traveler, D'Assier, cites an instance of a slave who had murdered six different masters but in each case was sold by the heirs because he was such an excellent and valuable workman. But the seventh owner proved to be hard-hearted and turned him over to the authorities for execution.⁶³

The lot of slaves condemned to punishment was often mitigated through the intercession of a third person. A plea for mercy even by one entirely unknown to the owner was rarely denied.⁶⁴ Another evidence of the relative mildness of slavery in Brazil was the increasing number of manumissions. Far from being frowned down upon, this practice was regarded as meritorious and conferred a certain prestige on its author. All sorts of pretexts were employed: national holidays, family festivities, births, marriages, even the successful passing of an examination. It was usual for masters on their death to emancipate their body servants. Favorite nurses were frequently manumitted; this was also usually true of mothers who had borne ten children. Custom prescribed that the master should emancipate all slaves who could obtain their market price: this practice was made compulsory, as we shall see, by the great emancipation act of 1871. Outside of the Mina negroes comparatively few of the slaves availed themselves of this privilege.⁶⁵

⁶² Alexander Majoribanks, *North and South America* (London, 1854), p. 73.

⁶³ Adolphe d'Assier, *Le Brésil Contemporain* (Paris, 1867), p. 97.

⁶⁴ References to this custom are to be found in almost every work dealing with slavery in Brazil. The American traveler, John Codman, for instance, tells of his successful appeal to an infuriated slaveowner who had after much effort recovered his fugitive slaves (*Ten Months in Brazil*, New York, 1872), p. 202.

The scope of this paper will not permit a discussion of slave auctions. They were generally repulsive spectacles. The famous Paulista writer, Viscount de Taunay, has flayed this feature of slavery in a passage that has become a classic (*Reminiscencias*, São Paulo, 1908, p. 134). Public auctions were prohibited through the efforts of the minister of justice, José de Alencar, on September 15, 1869.

⁶⁵ Couty, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Freyre, *loc. cit.*

Before concluding our account of Brazilian slavery in the fifties a few quotations from contemporary foreign observers may be pertinent. A British abolitionist, Alfred R. Wallace, who inspected the sugar plantations of Pernambuco in 1851 said of the slaves:

They have no care and no wants, they are provided for in sickness and old age, their husbands are never separated from their wives, except under such circumstances as would render them liable to the same separation, were they free, by the laws of the country.

The celebrated globe-trotter, Mme. Ida Pfeffer, who visited Brazil in the late forties, writes

I am almost convinced that, on the whole, the lot of these slaves is less wretched than that of the peasants of Russia, Poland and Egypt, who are not called slaves.⁶⁶

On the other hand, the anonymous author of *Briefe aus Brasilien*, published in 1857, speaks of the blind and worn-out slaves who were forced by their masters to peddle water or wood through the streets of Rio de Janeiro. More than two hundred of these poor wretches were so engaged at the time the writer visited Brazil.⁶⁷ The German scientist, Robert Ave-Lallement, inspected a large sugar mill near Bahia in which negro slaves were forced to work seven days a week.⁶⁸ The British minister, Christie, who to be sure looked upon all things Brazilian with a jaundiced eye, paints a harrowing picture of the plight of the slaves.⁶⁹ But such instances—and they could easily be multiplied—are but the inevitable concomitants of a system which permits man to exercise an all but undisputed sway over his fellows. They do not invalidate

⁶⁶ *A Narrative of Travel on the Amazon and Rio Negro* (London, 1852), p. 120.

⁶⁷ Quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 606. Sr. Freyre gives a number of quotations of similar tenor from travelers of the middle of the nineteenth century.

⁶⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 17. The English traveler, U. R. Burke, tells of seeing a blind white beggar being led by a negro slave. *Business and Pleasure in Brazil* (London, 1884), p. 37.

⁶⁹ *Reise durch Nord-Brasilien* (Leipzig, 1866), Erster Theil, p. 28.

⁷⁰ *Op. cit., passim.*

the fundamental thesis that on the whole the slaves in Brazil were treated with kindness and forebearance by their masters. The contrary view, which is widely held both within and without Brazil, is due in considerable part to the dark picture drawn by the abolitionists in the seventies and eighties.

With the abolition of the slavetrade, interest in the slavery problem temporarily ceased. The same Brazilians, who had most loudly proclaimed the infamy of the traffic, willingly acquiesced in the existence of nearly three million bondsmen. For the next decade and a half the voice of an occasional philanthropist or philosopher was raised in protest against slavery only to die away almost without an echo.⁷⁰ But by the early sixties a new spirit was astir.⁷¹ The slavery question was forced upon the Brazilians whether they would or no. Their complacent apathy received a rude shock at President Lincoln's emancipation proclamation in 1863. Brazil was now left in the unenviable position of being the only important country in the world in which slavery was legalized.⁷² This sense of moral isolation was increased by the petition sent in July, 1866, to Dom Pedro by the French abolition society, begging him to use his influence to bring about the extinction of slavery in Brazil: "Your Majesty is powerful in your empire; a wish expressed by Your Majesty can produce the freedom of two million men". Among the signatories were such names as Guizot, the Prince and the Duc de

⁷⁰ As early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, opposition had from time to time been voiced against slavery as an institution. José Bonifacio, the patriarch of independence, had roundly condemned it. This phase of the subject, quite beyond the scope of this paper, is adequately discussed by Perdigão Malheiro, pt. III, Cap. II.

⁷¹ Especially worthy of note is the agitation of the publicist, A. C. Tavares Bastos, who, as early as 1862, sponsored the idea of "free birth." He also advocated the abolition of public sale of slaves, the separation of families, and the emancipation of slaves owned by the state. Evaristo de Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 251 and Tavares Bastos, *Cartas do Solitário* (Rio de Janeiro, 1866), *passim*.

⁷² In a sense, Spain was an exception, as slavery existed in its colony of Cuba until after 1878.

Broglie, Laboulaye, Montalembert and Henri Martin.⁷³ The emperor was keenly sensitive to criticism, implied or expressed, on the part of foreign intellectuals, and the appeal struck home.⁷⁴ His minister of justice, Martim Francisco, replied on August 22, 1866 that

the emancipation of the slaves, a necessary consequence of the abolition of the slavetrade, is only a question of form and opportuneness. When the painful circumstances in which the country now finds itself (an allusion to the Paraguayan War) make such a step possible, the Brazilian government will consider as an object of primary importance the realization of a reform which the spirit of Christianity demands of the civilized world.⁷⁵

If we are to believe Nabuco, though the despatch was signed by his minister, the text had been drawn up by Dom Pedro himself.⁷⁶ As indicative of the attitude of Dom Pedro, it may be noted that on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter Isabella to the Comte d'Eu (the grandson of Louis Philippe) in October, 1864, the emperor gave her as a wedding present the freedom papers of all the slaves which would have come to her as a marriage dower.⁷⁷

⁷³ The text of this correspondence is given by Viveiros de Castro in pt. II, Chap. VIII of *Contribuições para a Biographia de Dom Pedro II. Revista do Instituto Histórico*, tomo especial (Rio de Janeiro, 1925, hereafter cited as Viveiros de Castro). As Brazil was at that time a constitutional monarchy it is rather surprising that the letter should have been sent directly to Dom Pedro II. This is the more amazing since one of the signatories was Guizot who always defended the dictum that the king rules but does not govern.

⁷⁴ The brilliant critic and historian, Oliveira Vianna, attaches great importance to this pressure from abroad. "That which gave such intensity to the abolitionist ideal and contributed powerfully to the climax of exaltation to which it finally attained was the pressure of foreign example acting upon a race which is imaginative, susceptible to idealism, and richly endowed with enthusiasm". *O Ocasso do Império* (São Paulo, 1925), p. 70.

⁷⁵ Viveiros de Castro, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁶ Joaquim Nabuco, *O Abolicionismo*, p. 64; Osorio Duque-Estrada, *A Abolição* (Rio de Janeiro, 1918), p. 44; Roura, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁷ *Anglo Saxon Reporter*, XIII. 110 (May 1, 1865). (British Museum) In September, 1864, the American missionary, Dr. Fletcher, examined the emperor's private library. The last book which Dom Pedro had read was J. J. Gourney, *Letters on the Benefits of Emancipation*.

The Paraguayan War, in which Brazil was involved from 1865 to 1870, indirectly affected the slavery question. As the struggle took on greater and greater proportions it became increasingly difficult to secure volunteers. Partially to meet this situation an imperial decree was issued on November 6, 1866, granting freedom to all slaves belonging to the nation who would serve in the army and in the case of married men the same benefit was extended to their wives. Private owners who liberated their slaves for the same purpose were granted titles of nobility.⁷⁸ According to Couty, no less than 20,000 former slaves were thus enrolled in the imperial armies.⁷⁹ And by way of anticipation it may be noted that when Asunción, the capital of Paraguay, was finally captured by the Brazilians and their allies in 1869 one of the first acts of the commander-in-chief of the army, Comte d'Eu, was to liberate such slaves as yet remained in Paraguay.⁸⁰

When the emperor assured the group of distinguished French humanitarians that he would exert his influence in favor of emancipation, he was as good as his word. The speech from the throne, delivered at the opening of parliament on May 22, 1867, contained the following statement:

The servile element in the empire cannot fail, at an opportune time, to merit your consideration. While respecting existing property rights and without inflicting any blow on agriculture, our premier industry, the important interests involved in emancipation must receive your careful attention.⁸¹

Despite the studied moderation of this pronouncement, its effect, to quote Nabuco, was that of a bolt from the blue. Many regarded it as rash and ill-timed; the bulk of the members of the conservative party looked upon it as madness, while a number of the liberals withdrew their support from

⁷⁸ Nabuco, *O Abolicionismo*, p. 61; Roure, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁹ *Loc. cit.*

⁸⁰ Nabuco, *op. cit.*, p. 63, where the pertinent passage is quoted.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 63. *Fallas do Throno* (Rio de Janeiro, 1889), p. 627.

the cabinet.⁸² Almost overnight slavery had become the most important domestic problem of Brazil.⁸³

The more progressive and discerning public men, supported by the emperor, realized the necessity of solving this question, not by radical measures such as complete and immediate abolition, but by the process of gradual emancipation. When, however, it came to translating these aspirations into realities, innumerable difficulties arose. As early as January 23, 1866, Pimento Bueno, Marquis of São Vicente, submitted to Dom Pedro II. a plan of gradual emancipation through the provision that all children born of slave mothers should be free.⁸⁴ But when, on February 1, this plan was laid before the council of state, the majority voted that the project was inopportune and should not be introduced into parliament until the conclusion of the Paraguayan War.⁸⁵ The war at length came to an end but new delays arose. The political oligarchy which dominated Brazilian public life at this time was recruited to a considerable extent from the great land-owners much of whose wealth consisted in slaves. Naturally men of this stripe were prone to look askance at any effort, however timed, in favor of abolition. While such views were reflected in the composition of both of the traditional parties the conservatives were by nature and conviction more opposed to reform than the liberals. In fact the latter party took a definite stand in 1869 by inscribing in their program

⁸² Tobias Monteiro, *Pesquisas e Depoimentos para a Historia* (Rio de Janeiro, 1913), p. 14.

⁸³ Symptomatic of the changed attitude toward the slavery problem was the resolution of the Benedictine Order to free all children born of their slaves after May 3, 1866, and to assume the duty of educating them. This act met with the enthusiastic approval of Dom Pedro. Evaristo de Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

⁸⁴ This project was based on the Portuguese legislation of 1854-1856. Cf. Evaristo de Moraes, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-244.

⁸⁵ Evaristo de Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 225; B. Mossé, *Dom Pedro II, Empereur du Brésil* (Paris, 1889), p. 194. According to Dr. Oliveira Lima, this biography was really the work of the famous diplomat, the Baron of Rio Branco.

the emancipation of the slaves.⁸⁶ Logically, therefore, to the liberals should have fallen the honor of putting through the two great bills of 1871 and 1888, the former destroying the source of slavery, and the latter abolishing the institution. Yet by a curious and perverse irony of fate, both of these measures were passed by conservative governments. An attempt to explain the inner working of parliamentary life under the Brazilian empire would far transcend the scope of this paper; it may be noted in passing, however, that such anomalies are not unknown in other countries, as for example the English Reform Bill of 1867, which sponsored by the liberals was finally passed by the conservatives—the famous "leap in the dark" of Lord Derby.⁸⁷

When a succession of cabinets found themselves hopelessly divided on the emancipation question Dom Pedro called in the conservatives under the presidency of one of the most remarkable men Brazil has produced, José Maria da Silva Paranhos, usually known as the Viscount of Rio Branco.⁸⁸ All Brazilian historians are agreed that the achievements of the Rio Branco cabinet are among the most notable in the entire history of the empire. They included a reform of the judiciary, notable advances in elementary and higher education, reorganization of the army and navy, and progress in railway construction. But the greatest public service rendered by Rio Branco was

⁸⁶ Joaquim Nabuco, *Um Estadista do Império: Nabuco de Araújo sua Vida, suas Opiniões, sua Época* (3 vols., Paris, 1898-1900), III. Cap. I-IX, *passim*. This work is a history of the life and times of the elder Nabuco by his son. It is the most important single work on the Brazilian Empire, and deals in great detail with the antecedents and passage of the great emancipation law of 1871.

⁸⁷ Viveiros de Castro (*op. cit.*, p. 421), one of the most acute writers on the reign of Dom Pedro II., sees the explanation of this anomaly in the organization of the two great parties which he declares were "in reality merely great agglomerations about certain personalities. It was not ideas which held the parties together, but the friendship for certain chiefs".

⁸⁸ The best known biography of Rio Branco is that of Viscount de Taunay, *O Visconde do Rio Branco*, revised by his son, the distinguished Paulista scholar, Dr. Affonso de E. Taunay (São Paulo, 1930). The account of the passage of the Rio Branco bill is given in chapters XI-XVII. Cf. also the elder Taunay's magnificent tribute to Rio Branco in his *Reminiscências*, pp. 59-60.

the passage of the emancipation bill to which his name is inseparably attached. The details of this parliamentary contest, in some ways the most notable in Brazilian history, cannot be discussed here. Among the opponents of the bill were to be found some of the most noted publicists and orators in Brazil: Ferreira Vianna, a master of irony and caustic wit; José de Alencar, one of the outstanding literary figures of the empire; Paulino de Souza, a veteran parliamentarian, one of the wheel-horses of the conservative party and a die-hard opponent of emancipation under any guise; and finally the noted jurisconsult, Marques Perdigão Malheiro. This last figure was the author of a monumental work, *A Escravidão no Brasil (Slavery in Brazil)*⁸⁹ in which he had urged the passage of a law similar, in the main, to the one sponsored by Rio Branco. But when the moment for action arrived, his courage deserted him and he aligned himself with the opposition.

But Rio Branco proved equal to every occasion. He bore the brunt of the attack virtually unaided.⁹⁰ During the legislative session of 1871, he delivered forty-one speeches before the senate and chamber of deputies, of which twenty-one dealt with the emancipation bill. To his lucid intelligence and firmness of action was united a most magnetic personality which on more than one occasion disarmed his opponents. His long career as a professor, a journalist, and a diplomat also stood him in excellent stead. After nearly five months of arduous and unremitting efforts on the part of the proponents of the measure, the bill was finally passed by the senate on Septem-

⁸⁹ This book, which has been frequently used in the preparation of this paper is characterized by Nabuco (*Um Estadista do Império*, III. 73) as "the great quarry to which all have turned for material and in this sense it is the most fecund and beneficent that has to this day been published in Brazil".

⁹⁰ An exception should perhaps be made in the case of Senator Torres Homem who supported Rio Branco through thick and thin. The peroration of his magnificent defense of the bill is given by Taunay in his life of Rio Branco, p. 65.

ber 28, 1871.⁹¹ Then followed a scene illustrating what Dr. Oliveira Lima once characterized as an example of the tropical exuberance of political life in Brazil. From the crowded tribunes descended a veritable rain of flowers on the heads of Rio Branco and the senators who had supported him, all to the accompaniment of almost delirious applause. The United States minister, who had been following the contest with intense interest, gathered up a bouquet of these flowers with the remark:

I am going to send these flowers to my country to show how a law is passed in Brazil which caused the shedding of so much blood in the United States.⁹²

What were the chief provisions of this famous law of 1871? The declaration of freedom was found in article I: "All children born of slave mothers in Brazil will henceforth be free". Owing to this clause, the law of 1871 is frequently spoken of as the "Law of Free Birth" (*ventre livre*). But successive paragraphs contained important qualifications. Children born under these conditions would remain under the charge of their mothers' owners with the obligation of caring for them up to the age of eight. At that time, these owners would have the option of receiving from the state an indemnity of 600 milreis (some \$300.00) or utilizing the services of the minors up to the age of twenty-one. The eight-year old children turned over to the state would be placed in charge of duly authorized associations. It subsequently developed that the great majority of slaveowners elected to utilize the services of these minors—who were known as *ingenuos*—up to the age of twenty-one.

The other important provisions of the law may be briefly summarized. An emancipation fund, supported by a series of

⁹¹ Accounts of the debates on this great measure may be found *inter alia* in the works of Viveiros de Castro, pp. 423-4; Evaristo de Moraes, p. 261 ff; Mossé, p. 209; and finally in a special volume entitled *Discussão da Reforma do Estado Servil na Câmara dos Deputados e no Senado* (Rio de Janeiro, 1871).

⁹² Monteiro, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

special taxes and a national lottery, would make possible the manumission every year of an increasing number of slaves. Owners were obliged to free their slaves if the latter could earn or borrow amounts equal to their market value. Freedom was forthwith accorded to certain categories of slaves, of which the most important were those belonging to the nation, those whose owners died intestate, and those abandoned by their masters. For the purpose of taxation and above all to prevent fraud in the case of the *ingenuos* elaborate provisions were made for the registration of slaves throughout the entire empire.⁹³

Despite the fact that the Rio Branco Law was less than a half way measure and relegated complete abolition to an indefinite future it met with general acquiescence. None of the terrible calamities predicted by the opponents of the bill came to pass.⁹⁴ The Brazilians had the comforting feeling that a vexatious social and economic problem, pregnant with disquieting possibilities, had been solved without leaving any great amount of rancor in its train. The slaveowners felt that they could count on at least two more generations of servile labor and could thus gradually adjust themselves to the new dispensation.⁹⁵

This period of relative indifference to the slavery question lasted barely seven years. A reawakening of interest was inevitable. The Rio Branco bill, like most palliative measures, really satisfied no one. Its shortcomings and injustices became increasingly obvious. In the all-important matter of registration, for instance, unscrupulous slaveowners, in connivance with local officials, were responsible for innumerable delays and evasions. Many children born after September

⁹³ The text of the law of 1871 may be found in *Leis do Imperio do Brasil*, num. 2,040. Of the innumerable summaries of the law perhaps the most easily available are those in E. Lavasseur, *L'Abolition de l'Esclavage au Brésil* (Paris, 1889), p. 79; and Duque-Estrada, *op. cit.*, Cap. II.

⁹⁴ Cf. Evaristo de Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

⁹⁵ This indifference to the question of slavery is discussed at length by Nabuco in *Um Estadista do Imperio*, III. 72 ff.

28, 1871, had their births recorded as of an earlier date. *Ingenuous* were frequently sold as if they were regular slaves. Fines and penalties for such irregularities usually proved ineffective.⁹⁶ When it came to enforcing the law of 1871 the government seemed stricken with a strange paralysis.⁹⁷ Amounts available for the emancipation fund were ludicrously inadequate.⁹⁸ Yet the full story of the enforcement of the law of 1871 will never be known, owing to the misplaced zeal of one of the great champions of abolition, Ruy Barbosa. This noted Brazilian writer and statesman, while serving as minister of finance in the provisional government which succeeded the overthrow of the empire, ordered the public burning of all of "the papers, registers, and documents" concerning slavery to be found in the ministry of finance. This holocaust was justified on the grounds that the republic was morally obliged to destroy "these vestigia" of "an institution which during many years paralyzed the development of Brazil and infested its moral atmosphere".⁹⁹

The dissatisfaction with the inadequacies of the Rio Branco bill finally became vocal in 1878 with the return to power of the liberal party. Among the deputies who took their seats in parliament for the first time was a young man whose name was to become a household word in Brazil and whose achievements were to bring him wide recognition in Europe and the United States. Joaquim Nabuco was born, so to speak, with a silver spoon in his mouth. He came from one of the oldest and most aristocratic planter families of Pernambuco. He

⁹⁶ The history of the enforcement of the law of 1871 is far too complicated to be taken up here. The subject is discussed at length by Luiz Francisco da Veiga, *Libro do Estado Servil e Respectiva Liberatação, contendo a Lei do 28 de Setembro de 1871* (Rio de Janeiro, 1875), *passim*.

⁹⁷ The indifference of the government to the cause of emancipation is evidenced by its permission to permit the publication of slave advertisements in the *Diario Official*. Cf. Evaristo de Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 680, where a number of such advertisements is given.

⁹⁸ Evaristo de Moraes, *loc. cit.*

⁹⁹ The burning took place on December 14, 1890. The relevant decree may be found in *Le Brésil* (Paris, January 11, 1891).

possessed a name already illustrious in Brazilian history as his father was the eminent jurisconsult, Nabuco de Araujo, who as counsellor of state and senator had exerted all his influence in favor of the great emancipation measure of 1871. Wealthy, highly educated in the best schools of Brazil, striking in appearance, the younger Nabuco found every avenue of preferment open to him.¹⁰⁰ Yet shortly after his election to parliament in 1879 he chose to jeopardize his political future and even to risk social ostracism by embracing with almost demoniacal fervor the cause of the million and a half negroes still in bondage. His meteoric appearance on the parliamentary stage has few parallels in Brazilian history.¹⁰¹ The problem, as Nabuco soon came to see it, was one, not of gradual emancipation, but of complete and unconditional abolition.¹⁰² For the next decade, Nabuco became the very heart and soul of the abolitionist movement. As his great services to national and humanitarian causes became recognized honors came to him thick and fast. Under the republic, he shared with the younger Rio Branco the distinction of making an advantageous settlement of some of Brazil's thorny boundary controversies. As the culmination of his career he brilliantly represented his country at Washington as the first Brazilian ambassador to the United States.¹⁰³

Envisaged in its larger aspects, the abolition movement in Brazil falls into two periods, each with its sharply accentuated characteristics. During the first, which lasted from 1879 to 1884, the abolitionists, relying wholly on their own

¹⁰⁰ The details of Nabuco's life may be found in the scholarly and delightfully written biography by his daughter, Carolina Nabuco, *A Vida de Joaquim Nabuco* (São Paulo, 1932). Cf. also his own charming autobiographical sketch, *Minha Formação* (Paris, and Rio de Janeiro, 1900), and his *Pensées détachées et Souvenirs* (Paris, 1906).

¹⁰¹ Count Affonso Celso draws a most attractive picture of Nabuco's parliamentary career in his *Oito Anos de Parlamento* (São Paulo, n.d.) pp. 92-96.

¹⁰² Nabuco first came out unequivocally in favor of abolition as opposed to emancipation in his speech of August 20, 1879. Evaristo de Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 273; Carolina Nabuco, *op. cit.*, Cap. II.

¹⁰³ His death occurred January 17, 1910.

resources and efforts, paved the way through discussion and propaganda for future political action. During the second period, which ended with the extinction of slavery in 1888, the agitation passed from the street and the press into the halls of parliament and became a political issue of the first magnitude. In 1884, the liberals became converted to the cause, followed by the conservatives in 1888.

The first landmark in the abolition movement was the establishment, on September 7, 1880, of the Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society (*Sociedade Brasileira contra a Escravidão*) at the instance of Nabuco who was naturally elected president.¹⁰⁴ An eloquent manifesto was addressed to the nation by Nabuco, and printed in Portuguese, French, and English, enjoyed an enormous circulation.¹⁰⁵ With the aid of a number of ardent co-religionists, an intense agitation was launched from the lecture platform and in the press. The attitude of the great papers of Rio de Janeiro and of the provincial capitals is worthy of note. Freedom of the press under Dom Pedro II. was complete and at no time did the public authorities place a ban on the publication of anti-slavery propaganda. Not a single journal attempted to defend the institution of slavery as such; controversy when it arose was on the advantages of emancipation as against abolition. The *Jornal do Commercio*, the most important daily in Brazil, though strongly conservative in tendency, opened its columns freely to discussions on slavery and almost daily published a caption entitled "Cousas da escravidão" ("Slavery items"), generally a catalogue of horrors for which slavery was alleged to be responsible. The *Rio News*, an English weekly edited by an American, openly championed the abolitionist cause. Of inestimable advantage to the same cause were the talents of Angelo Agostini, whose brilliant caricatures and cartoons,

¹⁰⁴ Carolina Nabuco, *op. cit.*, pp. 98 ff.; Duque-Estrada, *op. cit.*, p. 88; Evaristo de Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

¹⁰⁵ Carolina Nabuco, p. 99. The manifesto was circulated in the French in the *Messager du Brésil* and in English in the *Rio News*.

which held the pro-slavery elements up to ridicule, were published in the *Revista Illustrada*. The *Gazeta da Tarde* was established largely for propaganda purposes. Another daily, the *Gazeta de Notícias*, favorable to the abolitionist movement, soon became famous for its articles called "*Semanas Políticas*" written by one of Nabuco's most devoted collaborators, José do Patrocínio. This remarkable man, the son of a slave, gained a lasting fame for his eloquence. Nabuco speaks of him as a combination of Sparticus and Camille Desmoulins.¹⁰⁶ Oliveira Vianna styles him a "Negro John the Baptist".¹⁰⁷ Oliveira Lima declares that "there was no note in human passion, from the most sublime, to the lowest, which he could not touch with his voice or pen".¹⁰⁸ Nabuco, himself, both within and without parliament utilized every opportunity to keep the subject of slavery before the public. In 1883, appeared from his pen a notable work entitled *O Abolicionismo*,¹⁰⁹ the most devastating arraignment of slavery ever published in Brazil and an outstanding work in the entire field of anti-slavery literature. The first part of the book is devoted to the inadequacy and unfairness of the emancipation law of 1871. The absurdly meager results of the operations of the emancipation fund are stressed. The lot of the *ingenuos*, who though future citizens, were condemned for twenty-one years to suffer all the ignominy of slavery is made clear. In one of the most telling paragraphs Nabuco points out that a negro child born on September 27, 1871, might become a mother in 1911 of one of the *ingenuos* who would remain in provisional slavery until the year of grace 1932.¹¹⁰ The larger portion of the book is designed to bring home to the Brazilians the now recognized commonplace that in the final instance slavery is more detri-

¹⁰⁶ *Minha Formação*, p. 243; Carolina Nabuco, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

¹⁰⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 73.

¹⁰⁸ *O Império Brasileiro* (São Paulo, 1927), p. 234.

¹⁰⁹ It was published both in London and Rio de Janeiro.

¹¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 207.

mental to the slaveowner than to the slave. He drew a gloomy but arresting picture of the political, economic, social, and religious effects of slave labor, and with a wealth of illustrations, well buttressed with facts, endeavored to prove slavery was poisoning the well-springs of national life.

Among the more effective means of propaganda should be mentioned banquets. The most famous of these was given in honor of the United States minister, Henry Washington Hilliard, on November 20, 1880. Much was made of the fact that Hilliard was a southerner, had fought in the confederate army, and now saw the error of his ways in the matter of slavery.¹¹¹ Fifty prominent abolitionists were present including seven deputies.¹¹² In his comments on this banquet, André Rebouças, like Patrocinio, a negro and a consummate orator, declared that for the first time "the Brazilian family of abolitionists unites to distribute the sacred bread of the eucharist in favor of those who suffer in the irons of slavery".¹¹³

By 1883, the abolition propaganda had made such headway that its leaders determined to unite all existing societies into a confederation which would lend strength and unity to the movement. On May 12, was formally organized the Abolitionist Confederation (*Confederação Abolicionista*) consisting of fifteen societies with an executive committee and a directorate.¹¹⁴ The activities of this new organization were legion. Additional societies were founded. Propaganda was intensified. Foreign correspondents were appointed.¹¹⁵ An

¹¹¹ Hilliard gives a delightful account of his sojourn in Brazil and his interest in the abolition cause in *Politics and Pen Pictures at Home and Abroad* (New York, 1892), *passim*.

¹¹² The account of this banquet was found in "Pamphlets on Brazil" in the Harvard University Library. Hilliard's speech had such a repercussion in parliament that the president of the council, Saraiva, declared before a crowded chamber that the United States minister had spoken in a private capacity and that his speech represented his personal views. Carolina Nabuco, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

¹¹³ *Gazeta da Tarde*, November 21, 1880.

¹¹⁴ Duque-Estrada, *op. cit.*, p. 94; Evaristo de Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

¹¹⁵ Frederick Douglass held this position in the United States.

elaborate manifesto was submitted to parliament after it had been read before a large concourse of sympathizers in the largest theater in Rio de Janeiro. This document rehearsed at length the history of slavery in Brazil, stressed its alleged illegality, and ended with an impassioned plea for justice to those Brazilians still held in bondage.¹¹⁶

The confederation did not limit itself to such legal measures as founding branches, publishing articles, and drawing up manifestos. Nabuco and the more responsible leaders of the movement wished to avoid anything which might widen the gulf between owners and slaves or pave the way for race wars and slave uprisings. Propaganda, Nabuco was careful to point out, should be addressed to the slaveowners and never to the slaves.¹¹⁷ But this policy did not appeal to the more radical and exalted among the abolitionists. To further their cause they did not scruple to flout the constitution and laws of Brazil. Kidnapping of slaves came to be regarded as a meritorious act. Especially frequent was this practice in the great coffee province of São Paulo. The kidnapped slave was clothed by his protector, placed on board a train for Rio de Janeiro, and given the following instructions:

On arriving at the capital you will see a man standing on a bench with a camellia in his buttonhole. Approach him and utter the single word "*Raul*". If he replies with the word "*Serpa*", entrust yourself to him body and soul.

The next stage was the long journey by sea to the northern province of Ceará which as early as 1883 had freed its slaves. Once the ship had arrived off the coast of Ceará the slave, who had been traveling as the "body-servant" of an abolitionist or sympathizer, was taken in charge by the *jagandeiros*, daring fishermen who sailed far out to sea in their frail cata-

¹¹⁶ The manifesto was published in the *Diário Oficial*, September 1, 1883. Long quotations are to be found in Viveiros de Castro, *op. cit.*, pp. 682 ff.

¹¹⁷ *O Abolicionismo*, p. 25.

marans to meet the slaves and carry them to the land of freedom.¹¹⁸

This "under-ground" or rather "under-sea" railroad was not the only means employed by these over-zealous abolitionists to secure freedom for the slaves. Not infrequently fictitious titles of ownership were used to secure manumission through the connivance of complacent judges.¹¹⁹ Italian peddlers were hired to distribute among the slaves of the *fazendas* in the interior pamphlets and handbills urging them to escape from their masters. Often these peddlers were captured and assassinated by the overseers or *feitores*. The fugitive slaves might find asylum in two great places of refuge or *quilombos*, the most important of which was located near Santos, the great coffee port of São Paulo. Here the escaped or stolen slaves were cared for pending their shipment to the north. The abolitionists were of course playing a perilous game but fortunately they had confederates in the police department of Rio de Janeiro who warned them by a secret code when their activities were in danger of too close scrutiny.¹²⁰

Little by little the labors of the abolitionists began to bear fruit. Results were first to appear in the north. Here conditions were quite different than in the south and slavery had begun to lose much of its economic importance. The palmy days of the great sugar planters were a thing of the past due to the competition of the British and French West Indies and Cuba. Cotton growing had also suffered an eclipse, despite the fillip given the industry during our Civil War. Finally,

¹¹⁸ Duque-Estrada, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

¹¹⁹ Evaristo de Moraes (*op. cit.*, p. 300) describes in detail the activities of these magistrates. In certain provinces, notably São Paulo, Pernambuco, and Bahia, the judges liberated thousands of slaves who appeared on the registers as of *filiação desconhecida* ("unknown origin").

¹²⁰ Duque-Estrada, *op. cit.*, p. 97. The English traveler, H. C. Dent, who visited Brazil in 1885 describes with great indignation (*A Year in Brazil*, London, 1886, p. 287) the technique of the abolitionists, whom he dubs "the Socialists and Nihilists of Brazil".

a number of provinces, notably Ceará, had been hard hit by one of the recurrent drouths.

The economic retrogression of the north coincided with marked progress in the south. The potentialities of São Paulo and adjacent provinces for coffee culture were just being realized and as a consequence there was a brisk and insistent demand for labor which European immigration, now arriving in considerable volume, could not satisfy. It, therefore, became profitable for the slaveowners of the north to ship their slaves to the south. This migration of slave labor was accompanied by a certain amount of hardship and cruelty which, if we are to believe the abolitionists, recalled the worst horrors of the traffic with Africa.¹²¹

The first great triumph for the abolitionists was the liberation of all of its slaves by the province of Ceará on May 24, 1883, the sixteenth anniversary of the imperial constitution.¹²² Similar action was taken by the immense province of Amazonas on May 24, 1885.¹²³ The emergence of these free provinces in the north suggests the possibility that had slavery lasted much longer in Brazil a cleavage might have developed between the two sections of the country on the slavery question just as it did in the United States. Only in the case of Brazil it was the tropical north and not the temperate south that took the lead in the abolition movement.

We now address ourselves to a consideration of the second period of the abolition movement during which the struggle was carried on in parliament to a definite and triumphant conclusion. The first Brazilian statesman to realize that the slavery question could not longer safely be ignored by the

¹²¹ Christie, *op. cit.*, p. 207; *Briefe aus Brasilien*, p. 11.

¹²² Lavasseur, *op. cit.*, p. 123. This event called forth a letter from Victor Hugo, reproduced by Lavasseur (*loc. cit.*) and by Duque-Estrada (*op. cit.*, p. 122). An excellent discussion of abolition in Ceará, styled by Patrocínio "A Terra da Luz", ("The Land of Light"), is given by Coriolano de Medeiros in *O Livro do Nordeste, commemorativo do primeiro centenario do Diario de Pernambuco, 1825-1925* (Pernambuco, 1925), pp. 95 ff.

¹²³ Roure, *loc. cit.*; Duque-Estrada, pp. 127 ff.

government was Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas, an outstanding figure in the liberal party. Dantas did not believe in immediate abolition but he was convinced that the nation was no longer satisfied with the Rio Branco act and that the movement for emancipation must be sharply accelerated. His slogan was "do not retreat, do not stop, do not precipitate" ("nem retroceder, nem parar, nem precipitar"). He accepted the presidency of the cabinet on June 6, 1884, and at once presented to parliament a bill providing for the emancipation of all slaves over sixty without compensation to their owners, a new registration by which the value of the slaves in various age groups should be arbitrarily set, a large increase in the emancipation fund, and the prohibition of inter-provincial traffic.¹²⁴

In view of the growing agitation in favor of complete abolition,¹²⁵ the slaveowners would have been well advised had they made a virtue of necessity and accepted the Dantas bill lest worse befall them. Instead they attacked the measure, through their representatives, with the utmost bitterness. The conservatives charged Dantas with having made a secret pact with Dom Pedro and the old emperor was made the target of the most stinging denunciations yet uttered in parliament.¹²⁶ The real motive behind these angry attacks does

¹²⁴ Evaristo de Moraes, *op. cit.*, pp. 278 ff.; Carolina Nabuco, *op. cit.*, Cap. VI; Tobias Monteiro, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-110; Duque-Estrada, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 ff.

¹²⁵ It was at this juncture that the cause of abolition gained one of its most effective champions, in the person of the brilliant young lawyer and deputy from Bahia, Ruy Barbosa. Appointed editor of *O País* early in 1884, the vehemence of his attack on slavery cost him his position at the end of three days. As a member of the chamber he was called upon to prepare a report (*paracer*) on the slavery question which became a classic. It was published in 1884 under the title of *Elemento Servil*. Carolina Nabuco, *loc. cit.*; Baptista Pereira, *Catálogo das Obras de Ruy Barbosa* (Rio de Janeiro, 1929), contains a list of Ruy's speeches and writings at this time.

¹²⁶ These invectives were launched by Deputy Ferreira Vianna. One paragraph of his objurgation has become famous. "Forty years of oppression, of arbitrary rule, of ruthless triumph of the armed powers over the opinion of the country. . . . Over the ruins of a popular principiate the new caricature of a Caesar dares to encourage those who hesitate or fear, repeating; 'Quid times? Cesarem non vehes?'" Evaristo de Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

not appear in the debates. The slaveowners were not so much concerned with the loss of the sexagenarian slaves as they were incensed at the failure of the government to grant them any indemnity. To be sure, such an indemnity, if recognized in the present law, might later return to plague them. It is to be noted also that many owners were the victims of their own cupidity. On the occasion of the slave census of 1872, they had arbitrarily advanced the age of such of their slaves as had been illegally imported since the abolition of the traffic. Many of these "sexagenarians" eligible to freedom under the Dantas law were capable of many more years of service.¹²⁷

Time will not permit any discussion of the tempestuous course of the Dantas bill through the two houses of parliament. A temporary coalition of all of Dantas's enemies forced the resignation of his cabinet; a similar fate befell his successor, Saraiva, another liberal. While such parliamentary maneuvers might delay, they could not defeat the Dantas bill, for it enjoyed the support of public opinion and was favored by the emperor. The conservatives now suddenly saw the light. Realizing that the passage of the bill was inevitable, they made a *volte face* and under the conservative ministry of Cotegipe a law was passed on September 28, 1885, similar in most respects to that proposed by Dantas save for the provision that the sexagenarians, though nominally free, should serve their masters an additional three years.¹²⁸

The next few years were among the most tense and momentous in the entire history of the empire. Like Banquo's ghost, the specter of abolition refused to be exorcised. The wave of popular excitement which had been sweeping over

¹²⁷ Evaristo de Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

¹²⁸ The text of the law as finally passed may be found in *Leis do Brasil*, Pt. I, t. XXXII., num. 3270. The vicissitudes through which the Dantas law passed is described by H. C. Dent, *op. cit.*, pp. 289 ff.; Carolina Nabuco, *op. cit.*, Caps. VI-IX; and Agenor de Roure, *Contribuições para a Biographia de Dom Pedro II* (Rio de Janeiro, 1925), pp. 688 ff.

the north now invaded southern Brazil. The more progressive of the slaveowners themselves began to read the handwriting on the wall. Headed by the wealthy and influential *fazendeiro*, Antonio Prado, a number of the great coffee planters voluntarily freed their slaves. Anticipating abolition, these Paulistas had organized as early as 1886 the "*Sociedade Promotora de Immigração*", a non-profit organization through whose efforts an ever-increasing stream of Italian immigrants began to supplement or take the place of slave labor on the coffee plantations.¹²⁹

Everywhere a new spirit was astir. Slaves began to desert the plantations in droves and flock to the cities. Here they found asylum with the abolitionists who in some cases were not averse to using them as a cheap form of labor. It has been estimated that in Santos alone were to be found twelve thousand of these refugees. When the local authorities were unable to cope with this exodus they appealed to the army. But this last defense of the slaveowners proved to be a broken reed. The officers, in the name of humanity, refused to order their men to pursue the runaway slaves and endeavored to justify their conduct in a long memorial address to Princess Isabella herself.¹³⁰

It was now clear to all that the days of slavery were numbered.¹³¹ Many of the *fazendeiros*, panic stricken at the prospect, asked that complete emancipation be delayed three years in order that they might adapt themselves to the changed

¹²⁹ Alfred Marc, "Le Mouvement Paulista", in *Le Brésil* (Paris), January 5 and 25, 1888. Cf. also Lavasseur, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

¹³⁰ Oliveira Vianna, *O Ocaso do Império* (São Paulo, 1925), Cap. II.; Tobias Monteiro, *op. cit.*, p. 171. When a body of troops were sent to Campinas in the heart of the coffee country under the command of a certain Captain Collatino, two of the officers deserted the company and organized an abolitionist parade, placing themselves, in uniform, at the head of the procession. A de Roure, *Contribuições*, p. 707.

¹³¹ A number of the most perspicacious newspapers had realized this fact as early as 1883. In this year the influential *Jornal do Commercio* had announced "estavamos assistindo às exequias da escravidão (quoted by Roure, *Contribuições*, p. 684).

conditions. But even this brief respite was denied them. Nothing could stay the abolition movement, which like a mountain torrent swept everything from its path. The old emperor, ill in body, had sailed for Europe early in 1888, leaving his daughter, Isabella, to act as regent. The princess was an ardent abolitionist; one of her first acts as regent was to entrust the veteran statesman, João Alfredo Correa d'Oliveira, with the formation of a cabinet whose program should include immediate abolition. In the speech from the throne delivered on May 3 Isabella declared "that the extinction of the servile element has now become an aspiration of all classes in Brazil", and she urged the passage of a law which should at once convert these hopes into reality.¹³²

In throwing the full weight of the monarchy in the scales in favor of abolition Isabella displayed great courage, for she was braving the hostility of one of the most powerful and influential elements in the empire, the great landed proprietors. One of the most astute of the Brazilian statesmen, Cotegipe, had warned her that abolition might sound the death knell of the monarchy but his words were unheeded. The most serious mistake committed by the regent was the failure to recommend that indemnity be granted to the slaveholders. She felt apparently that a great moral issue should not be placed on a monetary basis while the slaveowners themselves with a del-

¹³² *Fallas do Throno*, p. 859; Mossé, *op. cit.*, p. 232; Duque-Estrada, *op. cit.*, pp. 223 ff. There is good reason to believe that the decision of Princess Isabella was greatly strengthened by a skillfully devised plan of Nabuco, namely, to bring home to her her duties as a loyal Catholic. On February 10, 1888, Nabuco had an audience with Leo XIII. and he embraced this occasion to inform the pope regarding the abolition movement in Brazil, and at the same time asked him to speak in favor of emancipation. "We desire that Your Holiness speak in such manner that your voice may reach Brazil before the opening of parliament. The word of Your Holiness will exercise the greatest influence on the mind of the government." "*Ce mot je le dirai, vous pouvez en être sur*", the pope replied. He then added. "When the pope has spoken all Catholics must obey." Though the "word" promised by the pope appeared in the form of an encyclical after abolition had taken place, Nabuco's account of the audience, published in *O País*, had an immense reverberation in Brazil and beyond all doubt profoundly affected the princess regent. Carolina Nabuco, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

icity little short of quixotic were loath to mention the fatal word, indemnity. This unfortunate misunderstanding was later to prove one of the causes for the downfall of the monarchy.¹⁸³

On May 8, the following bill was submitted to parliament. In brevity it was unique in Brazilian legislation. In language it was almost lapidary in its terseness:

Article 1. Slavery is declared extinct in Brazil.¹⁸⁴

Article 2. All contrary dispositions are revoked.

On the following day, May 9, the bill was passed by the chamber of deputies amid tremendous enthusiasm by the overwhelming majority of eighty-three to nine. In the senate, where the slaveowners were more firmly entrenched, the bill met with a similar reception. The opponents of abolition admitted that they could do little more than recognize a *fait accompli*. Even Paulino de Souza, the staunchest defendant of slavery and the *bête noire* of the abolitionists, bowed to the storm. When he learned that Princess Isabella had come down in a special train from her summer residence in Petropolis for the sole purpose of signing the measure he curtailed his speech in order, as he put it, "not to be remiss in his duties as a *cavaleiro* by keeping waiting a lady of such exalted rank".¹⁸⁵ On May 13, 1888—one of the most memorable days in Brazilian history—the abolition bill was passed by the senate by a vote of 43 to 6.¹⁸⁶ It was immediately signed by the regent with a golden pen purchased by public subscription. The daughter of Dom Pedro II. was to go down in history as "Isabel a Redemptora". Nor was the appellation unfitting, for her signa-

¹⁸³ P. A. Martin, "Causes of the Collapse of the Brazilian Empire", in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, IV. 10 (February, 1921).

¹⁸⁴ *Leis do Brasil*, pt. I, t. XXV. (1888), num. 3353. The chamber added "from the date of this law".

¹⁸⁵ Tobias Monteiro, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

¹⁸⁶ Of the many accounts of this dramatic event may be singled out for special mention that of Carolina Nabuco, *op. cit.*, Cap. X, and that of Evaristo de Moraes, *op. cit.*, pp. 304 ff.

ture had liberated nearly three-quarters of a million slaves with a legal value of nearly a quarter of a billion dollars.¹³⁷

The final extinction of slavery was the signal for an outburst of enthusiasm without precedent in the history of Brazil. Everywhere throughout the city, bands played, vivas resounded, fireworks exploded, dancing and singing took place in the public squares, an interminable number of speeches was declaimed. Similar scenes were enacted in the larger towns of the provinces. The popular festivities lasted ten days. The whole nation seemed delirious with joy.

The significance of this historic moment was summed up by Joaquim Nabuco, recently returned from Europe, in his speech before the chamber of deputies on May 7:

This is not the moment for party controversy, for we are approaching what is incomparably the most solemn hour of our history. The present generation has never before experienced such depths of emotion and to find a parallel we must turn back to the exultation felt by our fathers on the proclamation of independence. For us Brazilians the year 1888 is a landmark in our history even greater than was 1789 for France. It is literally a new nation that is born.¹³⁸

Many were the elements which contributed to the final extinction of slavery in Brazil. First came the abolitionists who quickened the national conscience and aroused Brazil from its lethargy. Then came a number of public men who waged a battle in parliament, first for emancipation and later for abolition. The more progressive and provident slave-owners lent impetus to the movement by voluntarily freeing their slaves. The army, by its refusal to pursue the fugitive slaves, helped to give the *coup de grâce* to the now thoroughly discredited institution. And finally, the nation as a whole repudiated a system which had not only outgrown its usefulness

¹³⁷ The number of slaves according to the register drawn up in 1887 was 723,419 and their value, according to the scale fixed in 1885, was 485,225,212 milreis. In 1873, the number of slaves was 1,584,974. Mossé, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

¹³⁸ Carolina Nabuco, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

but had brought disgrace and contumely upon the fair name of Brazil.

In any allocation of responsibility for this great reform a special place must be accorded the monarchy. During the long reign of nearly half a century Dom Pedro II. had been a consistent opponent to both the slavetrade and slavery.¹³⁹ To this philosopher and humanitarian¹⁴⁰—dubbed by Victor Hugo “the grandson of Marcus Aurelius”—slavery and all its works were essentially repugnant. But he recognized that a reform of this magnitude, affecting so many phases of national life, must be undertaken cautiously and could only be successful if supported by public opinion. Above all things, he desired to spare Brazil the great political and social upheaval which had accompanied the extinction of slavery in the United States. Less cautious was his daughter Isabella who, as we have seen, espoused in 1888 the cause of abolition without regard to consequences. The monarchy paid the penalty for this act of belated justice by the loss of the throne the following year. In the words of Oliveira Lima, the Braganza dynasty thus redeemed by the most touching of sacrifices the error of independence which freed politically the whites while keeping the blacks in servitude.¹⁴¹

In conclusion, we may venture to hazard certain generalizations regarding slavery and abolition in Brazil. The great

¹³⁹ Both before and after the overthrow of the empire a number of the emperor's critics were wont to disparage Dom Pedro's interest in the emancipation movement. The real sentiments of the emperor come out very clearly in an interview which he had in the eighties with the Argentine journalist, Hector Varella, and made public in 1888. According to Varella, Dom Pedro declared: “La esclavitud! Cree usted que haya en el Brasil nadie, ninguno de mis compatriotas que desee la abolición más ardientemente que yo! Ninguno, señor Varella; y los primeros en saberlo son los mismos que se hallan al frente del hermoso movimiento de la emancipación, algunos de los que me atacan con tan marcada injusticia, creyendo que yo retardo la hora más feliz de mi reinado”. Agenor de Roure, *Contribuições*, p. 684.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. the magnificent tribute to Dom Pedro as the defender of the freedom of the slaves given by the Viscount de Taunay in his *Reminiscencias*, p. 135.

¹⁴¹ *O Império Brasileiro*, p. 142.

crusade against slavery was a humanitarian, social, and eventually a political movement, but organized religion, as represented by the Catholic Church, played little part in it; in fact the clergy itself held slaves up to the passage of the Rio Branco bill in 1871.¹⁴² Strictly speaking, slavery never became a party issue. Though favored by the liberals, the two great reform bills were both passed under conservative governments. Again slavery was never a regional question, although in the last years of its existence, the north moved more rapidly towards abolition than did the south. But most significant of all, slavery never became a great social issue in the sense that it arrayed class against class or master against slave. This absence of race hatred is perhaps the most striking single phenomenon in the whole history of the abolitionist movement. Nabuco repeatedly declared that the object of the abolitionists was to reconstruct Brazil on the basis of free labor and the union of the races through liberty.¹⁴³

One of the chief reasons why the slavery question never threatened Brazil with civil war or disunion was the presence of free negroes or mulattoes, whose number, on the eve of final emancipation, must have been nearly triple that of the slaves. The free negroes enjoyed the same opportunities for advancement in business, in the professions, and in the church as did the whites. In other words, such distinctions as existed between the two races was based not on color but on condition of servitude. Once liberated the slaves were easily absorbed by the mass of free negroes and became like them an integral and useful part of the citizenry of Brazil.

Thanks then to the peculiar circumstances under which abolition took place the disappearance of slavery left to later

¹⁴² This indifference of the clergy to the emancipation cause is scored by Evaristo de Moraes who claims that certain priests whose slaves had run away announced their flight and posted awards for their capture. *Op. cit.*, p. 303. On the other hand, in 1888, the bishops of Brazil, on the occasion of the papal jubilee, expressed themselves as being in favor of emancipation. Carolina Nabuco, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

¹⁴³ *O Abolicionismo*, p. 19.

generations no legacy of permanent bitterness or unsolved issues. The most difficult domestic problem which Brazil has ever been called upon to face was solved in a manner which reflects the highest credit on the good sense, the self-restraint, and the humanity of the Brazilian people.

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THE CHILEAN REVOLUTION OF 1931

The rise in Chile of the veiled dictatorship of General Carlos Ibáñez (1927-1931) has been related in an earlier article in this REVIEW.¹ The character of Ibáñez's government is difficult to describe in a few words. It was not wholly a dictatorship nor yet was it constitutional; it was something of both, sometimes in harmony, sometimes at odds, with public sentiment. Again it was neither civilian nor military, but shifted from time to time in one direction or the other. Yet it was a patriotic, and taken altogether, an honest government, making the welfare and prosperity of Chile its principal aim. Its justification lay in the moral and political bankruptcy of the former constitutional régime. In its program of national rehabilitation, however, it was not always well-advised.

During his first two years, Ibáñez went out of his way to keep the administration purely civilian and non-partisan; he was extraordinarily scrupulous in maintaining the Moneda (Government House) free from the intrusion of the military. Later this was less apparent and the influence, not of the army as such, but of particular army and navy officers made itself felt, sometimes for their own professional or selfish ends. Likewise the influence of some of the president's relatives, who showed little of his high character and patriotism, was not of the best.

The army personnel did not increase during this time, indeed, it may even have been reduced, although the military fared well in pay and in appointments to posts at home and abroad. But the *carabineros* (constabulary), under the authority of the minister of the interior, were increased until they outnumbered the army, although scattered as police

¹ "Chilean Politics, 1920-1928", *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XI., No. 1, February, 1931.

throughout the length and breadth of the country. They were a very effective body, and were probably developed as a counterpoise to the regular establishment. The entire armed forces of the nation, military and naval, counted about forty thousand men.

Regular congressional elections were held in 1929, but nowhere was there any contest, not so much because of executive pressure, as because the old parties feared that real elections might bring the socialist-labor elements into political control. They therefore got together with the minister of the interior and designated a single candidate for each district, the minister undertaking to reject any name not satisfactory to the government. Consequently the new congress was virtually hand-picked by the president.

That General Ibáñez was entirely honest and public-spirited, few will deny; but he naturally saw things through military spectacles.² Disagreements too easily appeared like insubordination. With good intentions, but without the training and political judgment which comes from long experience in statesmanship, he made some mistakes. Among them was his extreme vigor in handling those who actively and openly opposed his régime. The arbitrary expulsion of malcontents may have been necessary in the early cleansing process; but in Ibáñez's last two years it was carried to excess, and hurt his popularity with the nation at large. If those sent into exile were innocent, it was tyranny; if they were guilty it would perhaps have been better to let them remain where they could be watched. Moreover, a repressive policy in itself inevitably drove men to conspiracy. Apparently there was also a widespread espionage system from which no one could feel

² When a distinguished Chilean lawyer, invited to take a cabinet post, told the president that there must be a return to free, constitutional government, Ibáñez replied that there always had been constitutional government. And to the rejoinder that such a government implied freedom of speech and of the press, the president said that that would mean anarchy since so many elements in the country were wholly irresponsible, selfish, and malicious. (Reported to the writer by the lawyer in question.)

immune, and the muzzling of the newspaper press was complete. Editors feared to publish anything that even implied a criticism of the government.

The president was too easily influenced by those nearest to him, taking his color from the one who talked to him last; and he always preferred to hear and believe reports that were rosy and optimistic. He consequently permitted himself to be led by those about him who favored a policy of large expenditures on public improvements. In 1928, was inaugurated an ambitious program, based upon an extraordinary budget of two hundred million pesos a year for six years, to be obtained by long-term loans abroad, the charges to be met by the surplus from the ordinary budget. But seeing how easily money was secured for public works, the navy came forward with a plan for modernization, and the army with requests for new equipment, while large schemes were devised of agricultural, industrial, and administrative organization. To all of this the president listened too readily, until the government was spending, instead of two hundred million, six hundred million pesos a year, far beyond the natural and normal capacity of Chile's small population and available resources. The service of interest and amortization might have been met if flush times had continued, but when the golden illusion was dissipated these obligations threatened national disaster.

There seems to have been very little dishonesty in the expenditure of these vast sums. But money was often spent unwisely, in the multiplication and over-organization of administrative services, and in the poor planning of improvements contemplated. For instance, in a project for new public school buildings, instead of constructing and finishing fifty or sixty at a time, they began six hundred at once and when the funds ran out all six hundred stood unfinished.

Most of the president's chief advisers, seduced by "easy money", were apparently either without any sense of responsibility regarding the burdens involved, or utterly oblivious to them. And in spite of the economic recession under way

elsewhere in the world, this program continued virtually unmodified until the early months of 1931. The minister of finance, Jaramillo, in May of 1930, began to talk of economies, but accomplished nothing. His successor, Philippi, was the first frankly to tell the government and the public where they stood financially and what the consequences would be. Ibáñez refused to believe him and dismissed him as an incorrigible pessimist in January, 1931. His successor, Castro Ruiz, former consul-general in New York, paid no attention to retrenchment, but tried to raise funds by petty borrowings on every available security. Jaramillo then returned to office and failed to secure the coöperation in economy of the government departments. The Blanquier cabinet in July, 1931, demanded a free hand and unconditional support by the president; and within a week it was out of office because the president refused to live up to his promises, or because he felt the methods of Blanquier to be too brusque and uncompromising. His economy measures had immediately incurred the opposition of influential people affected, the president put on the brakes, and the government resigned. The Blanquier cabinet had represented a victory of public sentiment over presidential dictatorship—the refusal of Ibáñez to support and coöperate with this “people’s cabinet” produced a crisis. The result was a popular revolt and the president’s downfall.

The revolution of July, 1931, may be briefly described. Retrenchment, we have seen, had been a political issue since the beginning of the year, when public opinion began to turn definitely against the president. The resignation of the Jaramillo cabinet in the second week of July was forced by the pressure of public opinion, for the first time in Ibáñez’s history. The Blanquier government came in on the thirteenth, on the condition that constitutional guarantees be immediately and completely restored, and that radical economies, including a reduction of the military budget, be effected. It was a cabinet of all talents, divorced from any consideration of

political expediency, and the public was elated. Its sudden resignation a week later threw the nation into as deep a despair. Students of the two universities, restless for a year since the Students Federation had been broken up by the deportation of its leaders, began street demonstrations, declared a four days strike, and seized the building of the National University. The hasty organization of a new cabinet of much the same character under the leadership of Garcés Gana, president of the *Banco Central*, deprived the students of their excuse for action. Nevertheless, agitation continued, evidently with the sympathetic approval of the citizens; and what began as a demand for the return of a popular ministry was rapidly being transformed into a movement for the elimination of the president.

The Garcés Gana cabinet found itself in an impossible situation. It faced the alternative of asking Ibáñez to resign, which it could scarcely do since it owed office to him, or of giving the military a free hand to suppress disorders, which was inconsistent with its program of constitutional liberties. Within forty-eight hours therefore it too resigned. The president then threw down the gage, and appointed a military government.

During the same evening (Thursday, July 23) occurred the first serious rioting. A theater was wrecked, shop windows were smashed and lampposts twisted. Disorders continued through Friday and Saturday, crowds gathering and shouting in the principal streets but especially on the Alameda near the University and the Moneda, though dispersed or kept moving by the carabineros. Stores of course were closed, which threw the employees upon the streets, and the "innocent bystander" was everywhere present. Throughout all the disorder, men and women were outdoors going about their daily affairs apparently without concern—a nonchalance not shared by the foreign residents. There was some sniping from the housetops, and reprisals by the exasperated police. In all, some twenty were killed, and perhaps two hundred wounded,

the carabineros sharing casualties equally with the civilians. And what happened in Santiago was reflected in many of the important cities and towns throughout the country. In Concepción, all the municipal authorities resigned, and a public meeting of five thousand citizens passed resolutions demanding the retirement of General Ibáñez.

The shooting by the police of a young physician of aristocratic antecedents, Dr. Pinto Riesco, in front of the building of the Medical Society, brought matters to a head. The physicians of the city declared a general strike, refusing to answer calls or even to attend at the hospitals. It was a barbarous measure, but effective. The bar association immediately followed suit, and soon the engineers joined. On Saturday morning, the school teachers went on strike, and the university faculties resigned. When the labor organizations, whose attitude was somewhat doubtful because of the president's social policy, finally signified their adhesion to the professional classes, the game was up. Very early Sunday morning (evidently about two A.M., for the censorship was lifted at two-thirty) General Ibáñez decided to abandon the presidency, although his decision was not announced to the public until one P.M., after arrangements had been made for a legal succession in the government. The tenseness of the situation was reflected in the fact that even the races and the football games scheduled for Sunday afternoon had been called off.

When the Chileans arose on Sunday morning, they were surprised to see that all the carabineros had been withdrawn from the streets, as it later transpired probably for fear of popular vengeance. But it was a sparkling, sunny winter's day, and Sunday promenaders thronged the Alameda as if nothing untoward were happening. Soldiers stationed about the Moneda seemed indifferent to the populace, the streets were filled with motor cars—Santiago, unconscious of the activities in the Government House, was for the moment on holiday. When the news of the president's resignation was announced at one, the effect was electric—jubilation was uni-

versal. Cars filled with young men and girls singing and shouting rushed about the city with cut-out mufflers and horns blowing continuously, it seemed, till nightfall. But there was no disorder, no confusion. University students immediately took the place of the carabineros directing traffic at the principal street corners, and in fact continued to do so for five days, until the police were returned. In the afternoon, a giant procession escorted the bodies of two of the victims of Saturday's shootings to the cemetery, a procession in which all classes were represented, rich and poor, young and old, men and women, university professors and cabinet ministers. It was a fitting close to an episode both of national humiliation and of triumph.

The revolution was in many ways a remarkable one. It was wholly a civilian revolution, the army having no part in it, but maintaining a strictly correct attitude divorced from politics. General Blanche, military commandant of the city, immediately issued a proclamation pledging the entire army to the support of the new régime. And it was an almost perfectly conducted revolution. The patience and self-control of the carabineros under extreme provocation, the sense of responsibility displayed by the university students throughout, and the order and security in Santiago after the police were withdrawn, were matters of general comment. It was certainly an example to any North American community in a similar dangerous crisis.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Cristoforo Colombo. Documenti & Prove della sua Appartenenza a Genova. By the CITTÀ DI GENOVA. (Genoa[?]: Officine dell' Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, Bergamo, MCMXXXI—Anno X. E. F. [Era fascista]. Pp. XXIII, 292.¹

The early writers on Christopher Columbus did not attempt to prove where he was born. They simply asserted that it was in Genoa in the province of Liguria, Italy. Later historians and biographers brought this assertion into question. All attempts to prove it have failed. The one before us is perhaps the most noteworthy, not only because it comes a little nearer than its predecessors to succeeding, but because it is the most elaborate. Under the patronage of the city of Genoa, a commission of fourteen members, presided over by the *Podestà* (facist mayor), has brought forth this volume measuring 15 x 12 x 2 inches and weighing 9½ pounds, to prove, not where Christopher Columbus was born, but that he was born in the city of Genoa, Italy.

Besides the XXIII and 292 pages indicated, there are 201 sheets, or 402 pages, interpolated and not serially numbered, making the total number of pages 717. There are no running titles. There is no index. The table of contents is sketchy. There are no designated chapters. Neither lines nor paragraphs are numbered for reference. A preface by the *Podestà*, together with a note at the end of the volume, authenticates the work as a product of Genoa's municipal scholarship. This is followed by an introduction by a member of the commission, Dr. Giuseppe Pessagno, which is referred to (p. 287) as a *Studio critico introduttivo*. It informs us that the documents presented were selected for their pro-Genoa tendency ("Esaminata la massa document-

¹ A translation of this work into English and German was issued in 1932. The English appears on the left hand page or column and the German on the right. The English title is *Christopher Columbus: Documents and Proofs of his Genoese Origin*; and the German, *Christoph Columbus: Dokumente und Beweisse seiner Genueser Herkunft*. This edition is substantially bound in heavy white canvas-like cloth. The inside papers, front and back are a reproduction of the Juan de La Cosa map of 1500. The facsimiles of documents are excellent and bound in with care. There are also many facsimiles of title pages.

*taria col criterio della prova della 'genovesita', si e visto" . . . p. XIX); that its method is strictly "objective and impersonal" (p. XVIII), and on the same page, that it is "objective and necessarily not impartial, because the voice of the documents is *one* and does not admit of variants or compromises"; in other words, that this work is not a study, but a brief; that the case is argued with documents making links in a chain of absolute proof; that, therefore, no other evidence than that presented is worth considering; either the discoverer of America was the Christopher Columbus of Genoa, figuring in the Genoese documents, or he never existed. ("Cristoforo Colombo e quello dei documenti genovesi *o non è*". P. XVI.) This dictum is the keynote of the work. With only apparent exception, the evidence presented is circumstantial. Being admittedly picked for its partiality, it is not the best obtainable, and fails to convince or satisfy,—to say nothing of justifying the haughty pretensions of the author.*

The body of the work is made up of facsimiles of printed matter and manuscripts compiled by another member of the commission, Professor Giovanni Monleone, with the assistance of Dr. Pessagno. It is interspersed with comments and discussions by Professor Monleone, and includes three colored illustrations which might better have been maps.

Part I sets out printed texts and a few manuscripts dating from 1502 to 1837, most of them of the sixteenth century. They represent the discoverer variously as *Genovese, di nazione* or *patria Genovese, cittadino [di Genova]*, without indicating whether natural born or nationalized, and in a few cases as a native of Genoa. I take the name *Genova* to stand for the city and the qualification *Genovese* to refer to the state; the word *patria* to imply native country or place of birth, according to context, and the word *nazione*, not. On this basis, I find that, of the 103 statements only eleven clearly credit the discoverer with being born in the city of Genoa. None includes its authority or source of information. Scant or no reference is made to persons who may have represented him as born outside of that place or have acknowledged or implied that they did not know where he was born.

Parts II and III are manuscripts; most of them unsigned and undated fragments. These are generally accompanied by a transcript and translation in print. For the date, the reader must rely on the

printed heading or footnote, which he would do well to check when he can. On page 127, the heading gives the period of a series of documents as running from 1 October, 1450 to 1 November, 1451. The facsimiles, which happen to include the dates, show it to run from 10 November, 1450 to 25 September, 1451. The provenance and authenticity, rarely indicated in the facsimile, may be learned from footnotes, but not always as explicitly as desired.

On page 123, Document No. 1, which might be taken for an original of 1440 or a contemporary certified copy, appears from the facsimile, to be an uncertified copy found in a pro-Genoese propaganda compilation, such as the one before us, made in the seventeenth century. The notable *Assereto* document (pp. XIII, XIX, 137, 173) passes as an original until critical examination finds it to be an indifferent, uncertified copy of two documents, themselves perhaps unauthenticated. On pages 108 and 144 we find material which in the manuscript appears to be struck out. If there is justification for its restoration, the reader may complain that it is not set forth.

Part II is divided into two parts, which we may call Section I and Section 2. Section 1 is composed of notarial deeds and deeds of the Genoa government, all in Latin, and section 2, of "other documents". Section 1 is subdivided into what may be called chapters, as follows:

1. Genealogical acts.
2. Acts showing Genoa as the birthplace of Christopher Columbus, and determining the year of his birth.
3. Acts showing changes of residence between Genoa and Savona. . . .
4. Acts proving [!] the identity of the Columbus of Genoa and the discoverer of America.

Section 2 consists of six miscellaneous documents testifying as to the birthplace of the discoverer.

In the above Chapter I, the seven 'genealogical deeds' are intended to prove his descent from one *Johannes de Columbo*, a wool weaver from Moconexi, eastern Liguria, residing (February 21, 1429) in Quinto, a suburb of Genoa, through one *Dominicus de Columbo*, son of a *Johannes de Columbo*, provenance and occupation unknown, and his wife *Sozana*, daughter of one *Jacobus de Fontanarubea* of Bisagno, also in eastern Liguria. The bits of more or less dubious and unrelated lineage, contained in these documents, are forced together into a rickety structure which, in the form of a family tree, is presented

as Document VIII. This, all the same, is not a document, but a questionable composition by the author.

The object of the next chapter is to determine the birthplace and date of birth of the discoverer. The documents show, says the author, "that the birthplace is revealed by Christopher himself, who, being in Savona, declared himself in a legal deed to be '*a weaver of Genoa*' Turning to this deed, we find that the declaration was made, not by Columbus, but by the notary, on what authority does not appear. Let us assume that he got it from Columbus. How does this prove place of birth? The author says, . . . "by this last declaration, made in a city of Liguria which was not Genoa, Columbus evidently intended to indicate the place in Liguria in which he was born". According to the author (p. 141, item IV), *Cristoforo* had been a wool weaver in Savona as well as in Genoa. If then, in Genoa he had declared himself a wool weaver of Savona, he would have proved himself born in both places! So much for the place of birth.

The date of birth is placed between the 26th of August and 31st of October, 1451. The earlier date is computed by our author for a *Christoforus Columbus civis Janue* (citizen of Genoa) summoned in 1479 from Lisbon to Genoa as a witness to a commercial operation of a *Lodovico Centurione*, about a year before (p. 173, Assereto doc.). Examined on the 25th of August, 1479, he gave his age as *annorum viginti septem vel circa* (about 27 years), which would put his birth about the 25th of August, 1452, or including his 28th year, as about said day and month in 1451.

The later date, 31 October, 1451, is determined for a *Christoforus de Columbo filius Dominici* (citizenship or birthplace or provenance not given) *maior annis decem novem* (between 19 and 20 years of age). The deed is dated 31 October, 1470. This would place the birth between the 31 October of 1451 and of 1450. According to the author, the age given in this deed was declared by the witness himself (p. 121, No. VI). It was apparently a conclusion of the notary's, set down by him as evidence:

1. As to the identity of the witness.
2. As to his being of age to testify.

Neither of these purposes called for correctness. The first might be served by the current belief, the reputed age; and the second by an indefinite one definitely over or under the legal age. The author's

conclusion that the discoverer was born between his two dates, 26 August and 31 October, 1451, depends upon the identity of his two Columbuses with each other and with the discoverer. This identity is not demonstrated, but assumed—a begging of the question which the author was to prove. Even assuming that the two ages were both given by the discoverer, they are too indefinite for the definite maximum and minimum of the author. They intimate that the witness did not know or believe his age to lie within such or any other precise limits.

Chapter III treats of the movements of certain Columbuses between Genoa and Savona.

In Chapter IV we come upon the crux of the whole work: "Deeds proving the Identity of the Genoese Columbus with the Columbus Discoverer of America", followed by a *Conclusione* (pp. 161-178). With one exception, the seven documents here presented refer to the Columbus of Genoa. The exception is the questionable Asereto document. The relationships on which the author seems to rely for the identification of the two Columbuses are:

1. Genoese cousins (3 sons of Antonio, brother of Dominico, Christopher's father) arranging to get in touch with a *Christoforus de Columbo*, admiral of the king of Spain.
2. The Genoa firm of *Lodovico Centurione* and *Paolo di Negro*, as employer in 1478, of a Columbus, citizen of Genoa and resident of Lisbon; together with the remembrance of this firm by the discoverer in his will.
3. One *Ieronimus de Portu*, a Genoa creditor of the Genoa Columbus and, according to author, of the discoverer.

With respect to the first, it is alleged (p. 178) that the three cousins had arranged to visit the admiral. They had in fact arranged only to share the expense of a visit to be made by one of them, *Johannes* (Giovanni, p. 174). The author says "evidently for reasons of kinship". His evidence is not specified, but appears to be:

1. The statement, on the 11th of October, 1496, as a fact of common report in Savona, that *Christophorus*, *Bartolomeus* and *Jacobus*, sons of *Dominicus de Columbo*, of Savona, had long been beyond the jurisdiction of Savona, living in Spain (p. 176); together with the identity previously established, of the Savona and Genoa Columbuses.
2. The coincidence of the *Christophorus de Columbo* of Genoa and the admiral of the King of Spain, in name, in age, and in relationship in Genoa.

That the name of the admiral was, in Latin, *Christophorus de Columbo* should be supported by better evidence than the statement of a Genoa notary (p. 175) or an irresponsible interested party, in a Genoa document. If there was a Spanish document in Latin that gave to the admiral the name of *Christoforus de Columbo*, the author should have produced it. Let us assume that there was one; also that the son of Antonio, *Johannes de Columbo*, did present himself to the admiral and was eventually given command of one of his ships. In all this there is no proof that in resorting to the admiral, *Johannes* was actuated by a call of the blood; that either he or the admiral recognized the other as a cousin; that the admiral claimed or admitted filial relations with *Johannes's* uncle *Dominicus*. Diego, a brother of the discoverer, does in his will, name a *Giovanni Antonio Colon*, but did not give his father or identify him or relate himself to him in any way (p. 259). The text of the will is taken in print from Harrisse (*C. Colomb*, II. 467), who does not give his source.

The Columbus of Lisbon, who is represented by the author as serving the firm of Centurione and Dinegro, appears in the Asereto document (p. 172) as *Christofforus* and as *Cristoforus, Columbus*, not as *Christoforus de Columbo*. He is said by the notary to be a citizen of Genoa. In his testimony, given under oath, he says nothing about citizenship or origin, but that he did go, for the forementioned *Paolo Dinegro*, on a commercial mission to the island of Madera in 1478. He does not tell how he knew, if he did know, that his *Paolo Dinegro* was the one in this case, the partner of our Centurione. It appears from the document that the testimony of Centurione was shown or read to the witness as a preliminary to his examination; that he thus knew what he was summoned and expected to testify; also that his testimony is not given in his own words, but at best, in those of the notary and, possibly, not in the notary's words, but in those of a copyist. Under these circumstances, we can hardly take this testimony as proof of his having had any dealings with our *Paolo Dinegro*.

In 1502, the discoverer made a will which is lost. We have no certain knowledge of its contents. In 1505, he made a supplement, or codicil, to this will, without incorporating therein the will itself. This codicil was executed in 1506. Its original is lost. Our author presents it in print (p. 253) taken from Navarrete (*Colección de los Viajes . . .* II. (1859), 350), who gives it as a legally authenticated

instrument (*Testimonio autorizado*) in the archives of the Duke of Veragua. It is not apparent why he does not furnish a manuscript copy of it. Navarrete's text may be divided into two parts:

1. The aforementioned codicil, said by the *escribano*, *Pedro de Hinojedo*, to be in the handwriting of *Cristóbal Colón*, and signed [in the same handwriting!] with his name.
2. A postscript to the foregoing supplement, or codicil. This postscript is not signed by the discoverer, but is said by another *escribano*, *Pedro de Azcoytia*, to be in the handwriting of the first part. There is no date to the postscript, but it was evidently written between the signing of the first part by the discoverer and *escribano*, August 25, 1505, and its execution with the signing by the other *escribano*, May 19, 1506.

In the postscript, Columbus names the heirs of *Luis Centurion*, "a Genoese merchant", and those of *Paolo de Negro* as legatees. He leaves a sum of money to be divided equally between the two families and another to go to the Centuriones alone, each sum in round numbers, without indicating any particular financial, civic, or blood relationship.

There is notarial proof that in Genoa, on the 22d of September, 1470, *Dominicus*, son of *Johannes, de Columbo*, and *Christoforus*, son of *Dominicus*, agreed with one *Jeronimus de Portu*, son of *Bartholomeus de Portu*, to submit a money question to arbitration; that six days later, *Christophorus* and *Dominicus* were obligated by the award to pay to said *Jeronimus de Portu* thirty-five lire within a year. Our author says (p. 178, l. 16, 17) that this *de Portu* is named by the discoverer in his will. Turning to the will (p. 252) we find a provision for payment: "to the heirs of *Geronimo del Puerto* (Spanish), father of *Benito del Puerto*, Chancellor of Genoa, twenty [Spanish] ducats or its equivalent [in Italian money]"; nothing about the father of Geronimo. It is reasonable to suppose that this debt of the Columbuses was paid within a year or two of its creation by the arbitral award in 1470, and it may be surmised that the 20 Spanish ducats, equivalent to about 129 lire, bequeathed about 34 years later, were an obligation of another Columbus to the same or some other Puerto. According to the author (p. 252-b), 20 (Spanish) ducats are about equal to 35 lire. My number, 129, is computed from the figures of Desimoni (*Racc. di Doc.*, Pt. II, v. 3, pp. 124-125).

The "Deeds proving the Identity of the Genoese Columbus with the Columbus Discoverer of America" should leave us unconvinced,

but if they did convince us, the proposition that the Genoese Christopher Columbus was born in the city of Genoa would remain to be proved.

In the next and last section of Part II (pp. 179-194) are six documents bearing on these two points. Not one represents the discoverer unequivocally as a native of Genoa.

Part III is formed of Section 1, devoted to the autographs and other documents of the discoverer, in the archives of Genoa; and Section 2, to deeds of Christopher Columbus and of his relatives and descendants. These deeds consist of six wills and two formal affirmations. The first will is the notable entail, or *mayorazgo*, of 1498, containing the phrases: "I being born in Genoa" and "from it [the city of Genoa] I came, and in it I was born". This is the only piece of positive evidence as to the birthplace of the discoverer that can be taken seriously. Does it decide the question? The original of the *mayorazgo* is lost. No legally certified copy of it has come down to us, but its legality is here of secondary interest. A document may be in perfect legal form and full of lies. Was this declaration made, was the original deed signed, by Christopher Columbus, the discoverer? Nobody really knows; but assuming that it was, did the discoverer know where he was born, and if so, did he tell the truth about it? There is room for doubt and speculation on each of these points. Without cross examination or corroboration, this testimony of his cannot be accepted as proof.

The second will in our series is the discredited military codicil of 1506. It is recognized by our author as apocryphal, but this does not prevent his drawing on it for evidence. "It is very significant," he says, "that the forger wishing to give to the codicil every appearance of authenticity, could not but fashion a Columbus born in Genoa". The forger's words are "*meae Patriae Reipub[licae] Genuensi*"; not a word about the city of Genoa. Besides, how could naming Genoa as the place of birth give to the writing an appearance of authenticity, except on the assumption that Genoa was the discoverer's birthplace? This is another case of gratuitously assuming what is to be proved. Most of the remaining documents have already been considered. None of them calls for further comment.

It is hard to imagine any one reading this bulky, scrappy opus through. The further one gets into it, the greater the vexation and

disappointment. It will be used principally as a work of reference. In spite of the emasculation of the documents and the difficulty of finding one's way among them, it is a serviceable compendium of documentary data. As a demonstration that the discoverer of America was born in the city of Genoa, it stands a monumental failure.

JOHN BIGELOW.

Washington, D. C.

De Renaissance in Spanje, Kultuur, Litteratuur, Leven. By DR. G. J. GEERS, in collaboration with DR. J. BROUWER. (Zutphen: W. J. Thieme en C^{ie}, 1932. Pp. VIII, 383. Eleven guilders.)

This book is intended as a popular account of life and culture in the Golden Age of Spain. Dr. Geers proceeds along the path marked out by Professor Huizinga's studies on the Renaissance. He states that many writers have either minimized the Renaissance in Spain or even denied its existence. Nevertheless, it is quite evident that in Spain as well as in other European lands, there was a significant departure from the Middle Ages. The changes in art, literature, society, politics, and economic life from 1470 onwards all illustrate the transition from the medieval to the modern, which Professor Huizinga of Leiden has designated as the more general and significant feature of what may be called the Renaissance. The first five chapters are devoted to the history of Spain up to the death of Felipe IV. Dr. Geers wisely avoids reciting many events and giving an endless mass of dates, limiting himself rather to general conditions. He has succeeded admirably in portraying the social nexus which forms the basis of cultural activities described in succeeding chapters. This part of the book is a most valuable supplement to the political histories of the period. Particularly pleasing is the portrayal of Felipe II. who has suffered so much at the hands of modern historians. He is shown as a hardworking and conscientious king who sought to conduct his statecraft according to Christian principles. Catholicism was the cornerstone of his political edifice, and orthodoxy and citizenship were synonymous. The monarch was absolute and political functions were more highly centralized than in other lands. Felipe II., however, failed to give his realm an adequate economic policy and never understood the conditions which made possible the success of his enemies. The sad career of Don Carlos is effectively treated and full justice is

done to the legends which disfigure older accounts. The chapter on literature, the longest in the book, is by Dr. Brouwer. It presents an adequate account of prose and poetry and is quite sympathetic to the mysticism as well as to the rationalist thought of the time. Art is discussed in four chapters. In no other book will one find a briefer and better account of the evolution of Spanish art. The sketch dealing with painting begins with a statement of conditions in the Middle Ages and traces the dominant Flemish influences until the passing of Moro and the growing forces of Italian painting until the appearance of Domenico Theotocopuli (El Greco). Then began the school of Spanish national painting. The closing chapter contains a survey of man and society based upon the literature of the Golden Age somewhat after the manner of Jakob Burckhardt. Popularization of scientific work is a very important need but it is possible only at the hands of scholars. These writers have given us a valuable book. One regrets that it is written in a language which is spoken by only about twelve millions and therefore will have a restricted circulation. A pleasing feature is the eighty-five splendid plates and the attractive format and binding.

H. S. LUCAS.

University of Washington,
Seattle.

Colombia y los Estados Unidos de America. By ANTONIO JOSÉ URIBE.
(Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1931. Pp. 443.)

Dr. Antonio José Uribe is one of the few distinguished international figures of those who participated in the "Panama Affair" who are still living. Roosevelt, Hay and Lodge, Marroquin, Herrán, Silva and the others who took part in that event—"one of the most notable and transcendental pages in the diplomatic history of the world"—are gone. Dr. Uribe, who, as minister of foreign relations of Colombia, wrote the instructions for the negotiators of the Hay-Herrán Treaty, and who, again filling that office, on March 1, 1922, exchanged ratifications of the so-called treaty of April 6, 1914, with Hoffman Philip, has here published a number of his personal papers referring to the history of that affair. These papers are the more interesting as Dr. Uribe is perhaps the only one of the principal actors who lived through the period of our quarrel with Colombia from its "divine

right" beginning under Roosevelt to its "oleaginous" ending under Harding—if we except Henry Cabot Lodge—and because, by reason of that fact, he came into close personal contact with the problem at every stage of its history.

Aside from a lengthy introduction which gives a résumé of the history of the idea of a Panama Canal, with emphasis on its later phases, the book is a documentary history of Colombian diplomacy with regard to the Panama Canal, consisting of correspondence, speeches, and articles, from 1898 to 1922—that is, the entire period of the canal's history, so far as Colombia is concerned.

The first two chapters are in the nature of comment upon the expansion of the United States, and the inevitable effects of the Spanish-American War. Beginning in Chapter III, with the instructions handed to Dr. Martínez Silva, in 1901, the documents here presented throw a great deal of light upon the diplomatic history of the canal. Dr. Uribe supported the Hay-Herrán Treaty, not so much because of the benefits to be derived by Colombia under the treaty, but because, in view of the irresistible expansion of the United States, he realized the futility of rejection. In one sense, the entire book has as its thesis the belief that in this support he was taking the position which would be most beneficial both to Colombia and to Colombia's relations with the United States.

The documents dealing with the Panama Revolution present little that is new; most of them, in fact, are to be found in *Foreign Relations*. It must be remembered, of course, that that series is not available to the readers for whom Dr. Uribe wrote. But the greatest value of this book lies in the fact that it presents one connected story of the Panama episode from its beginning to its end. In presenting this story, Dr. Uribe has also made available a clear and masterful expression of the Colombian point of view in the Panama matter. Nor is it the extreme nationalistic point of view. Dr. Uribe represents a philosophy which, acknowledging the inevitability of the expansion and the imperialism of the United States and the futility of resistance to that expansion by a small South American country, seeks to accept the best conditions that the northern colossus has to offer, and to build up by realistic coöperation the benefits which can never be achieved by the futility of nationalistic obstruction. This attitude has been consistently adhered to by Dr. Uribe since the Spanish-American

War; that he was right is proved by what happened after the rejection of the Hay-Herrán Treaty. His career as teacher, scholar, minister of state, non-national United States representative on the Latvian-American Commission, and member of the International Court of Justice at the Hague marks him as one of the most able and distinguished statesmen of Hispanic America, and lends the weight of authority to his realistic diplomatic philosophy.

One might wish that the book were less personal and more coherent. On the Hay-Herrán Treaty, for example, on the Knox-Taft attempts at reconciliation from 1909 to 1913, or on the negotiation of the treaty of 1914, there must have been available for Dr. Uribe's use many more documents than he has published. For the North American reader, the book would be much more valuable had the author given less of his own speeches and articles and more of the materials from "behind the scenes". This was not Dr. Uribe's purpose, of course, and the book as it stands is a very valuable contribution to the history of the Panama episode, by the statesman on the Colombian side—perhaps on both sides—most eminently qualified to write it.

MAX SAVELLE.

Stanford University.

Bolívar el Libertador. By JOSÉ MARÍA SALAVERRIA. (Madrid and Barcelona: Espasa-Calpe, S. A., 1930. Pp. 237. Illus.)

This little paper covered book is published as Number 11 of the Espasa-Calpe collection of "Vidas Españolas e Hispano-Americanas del Siglo XIX". It has neither index nor bibliography, but contains a few rather unsatisfactory illustrations showing portraits of Bolívar and scenes connected with his life and death.

In his *Bolívar*, José María Salaverria has given us neither a history nor a biography. He takes for granted a knowledge of historical events connected with the emancipation of Venezuela and Great Colombia. He also assumes acquaintance on the part of his readers with the main facts in the life of Bolívar. In that he is wise, for little new can be said about the life of the Liberator. Instead, Salaverria uses his hero as a focus about which he concentrates a series of pictures of men and times.

Bolívar's early life was lived when the colonial period in Spanish America was at its height. Therefore, the author gives a vivid sketch

of life in a colonial capital. Bolívar was a Creole. This provides the author a convenient chance to describe not only the Creoles, but all other classes of colonial society as well, including even the Indians and Mestizos. The young Bolívar, scion of a wealthy family, travels in Europe to complete his education. The gay and somewhat lax life in Madrid and Paris at the time of the beginning of the First Empire is painted with brilliant colors. Patriotism is aroused in the young man by his eccentric and radical minded tutor, Simón Rodríguez, whose portrait is drawn with quick sure strokes. Bolívar returns home to help organize and defend the first Venezuelan republic. Miranda, the dictator of that republic, is described as being a clever conspirator but a poor general. Bolívar, a military subordinate of the dictator, with other conspirators betrays Miranda to the Spanish military commander. Bolívar proclaims "War to the Death". This is a symptom of the spirit of the times, and shows Bolívar to be no more bloodthirsty than the rest of his contemporaries. Advantage, however, is seized by the author to devote a chapter to describing the bloody deeds of the "tremendous" Boves.

The actual accomplishments of the Liberator are passed over rather lightly. Often only a sentence is used to record a victorious battle or campaign. The author seems to find little of interest in the successful general. The greater part of the book is devoted to Bolívar's youth, for this period was formative of his character and provides picturesque backgrounds. However, the sadness and tragedy of Bolívar's last years seem to recall the author again to his theme and to give the reader several chapters of exquisitely written pathos. Yet there is a jarring note when Manuela Saonz is made a pathetic heroine.

In these last chapters, the author seems to regain some of the sympathy for his hero which he had lost when the latter was basking in the limelight of success and was (according to the author) hoping to emulate Napoleon. The author writes from the Spanish, rather than the Spanish American point of view, and finds much that he does not approve of in the character of his hero. This book is not the customary eulogy of the Liberator.

ALFRED HASBROUCK.

Washington, D. C.

El Gremio de Plateros en las Indias Occidentales. [Publicaciones del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, No. LXI.] By JOSÉ TORRE REVELLO. (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de la Universidad, 1932. Pp. 32, lii, (2).

Juan José de Vértiz y Salcedo, Gobernador y Virrey de Buenos Aires. [Publicaciones del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, No. LX.] By JOSÉ TORRE REVELLO. (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de la Universidad, 1932. Pp. 41, (2).

For the past twelve years or more, Sr. Torre Revello has been in charge of the research in Europe of the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas of Buenos Aires with his headquarters at Seville, Spain. Practically all of this time has been spent in the General Archives of the Indies located in the latter city, and his personal labors there have born fruit in the form of a constant stream of valuable books, articles, and collections of unpublished documents and maps which have added greatly to our knowledge of colonial Hispanic America. Scarcely a number of the indispensable *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas* appears without one or more contributions by this indefatigable investigator who not infrequently embellishes his work with drawings made from originals by his skilful hand. But other periodicals published in Argentina and in Uruguay are also indebted to Sr. Torre Revello for studies ranging from the purely erudite to the semi-popular. Though many of his writings relate the early history of his native Argentina, and also of Uruguay, he frequently treats of subjects common to the whole of Spanish America. His special interest lies in that relatively unexplored field of the cultural and social history of colonial Hispanic America, and it is in this sphere of activity that his contributions are most numerous and valuable.

The most recent publications at hand of this prolific investigator are here under review and are typical of the research work upon which Sr. Torre Revello is continually engaged. To the student of economic and social history such studies as *El Gremio de Plateros en las Indias Occidentales* are of profound interest and afford valuable material for a comprehensive work on the trade-guilds and industrial life in the Spanish colonies yet to be written. Curiously enough, our knowledge of Spanish activities on the various frontiers is frequently more complete than is the case in the more settled areas and centers of population. In this treatise, Sr. Torre Revello does not limit himself to a

discussion of the guilds of silversmiths in Buenos Aires but devotes as much space to those of Mexico, Peru (both Cuzco and Lima), Guatemala, Santiago de Chile, and Havana. His account is factual and follows closely the documents upon which his conclusions are based. Authority for every statement is meticulously given, and the footnotes contain so much related information that they frequently occupy more of the page space than the author's text. If the result is often dry reading, the value of the work is by no means lessened for the specialist for whom the studies under review are primarily intended.

One of the most valuable aspects of Sr. Torre Revello's writings is his custom, from which he seldom deviates, of appending a considerable number of unpublished and pertinent documents. In the first of the studies above mentioned, the author's text and notes cover a total of 32 pages, while the appendix consists of 52 pages in which eleven documents are faithfully reproduced. In point of time, the latter range from the years 1513 to 1776 and contain, among other matters, an authorization for the practice of the silversmith's trade in various places, and the *Ordenanzas* governing the guilds in the colonies. These records are of primary importance for the study of one of the outstanding industries in the Spanish colonies.

Sr. Torre Revello returns directly to a phase of the colonial history of his own country in the second of the two works under consideration and devotes 43 pages to an excellent sketch, based on unpublished material in the Archives of the Indies, of one of the few Creoles who were appointed to the post of viceroy in the new world. Under the intelligent administration of Juan José de Vértiz y Salcedo, who occupied the highest office in the viceroyalty of Buenos Aires from 1778 to 1784, both the present republics of Argentina and Uruguay prospered; numerous schools and asylums were established, the first real theater began to function, and the printing press was installed. The efforts of this viceroy were continually directed toward improving the hygienic conditions and social welfare of the people, and the planting of new settlements in the provinces under his jurisdiction. Like most of the writings of Sr. Torre Revello, this study is based largely on records preserved at Seville, but is without the customary appendix of unpublished documents.

IRVING A. LEONARD.

University of California,
Berkeley.

Alboroto y Motin de Mexico del 8 de Junio de 1692. Relación de Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora en una carta dirigida al almirante Don Andres de Pez. By IRVING A. LEONARD. (Mexico: Talleres Gráficos del Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía, 1932. Pp. 160.)

This letter of the famous Sigüenza y Gongora, who was an eyewitness of the greater part of the events described, is the most detailed and interesting account of the uprising of the Indians of New Spain in 1692. During the first two centuries of Spanish domination in Mexico there were frequent uprisings of Negroes, Mulattoes, Indians, and the other elements which made up the population of the viceroyalty, but none were more notable than that of 1692.

The document treats the disasters of that memorable year which caused restlessness and dissatisfaction among the people. There were raids by pirates, earthquakes, disturbances of the people during fiestas, the terrible flood in Mexico City, incessant rain, an eclipse of the sun which terrified the ignorant populace, a blight on wheat, and the high prices and scarcity of food stuffs. An actual food riot occurred when the mob surrounded the public granary of the capital and started fires. The agitated Indians then went to the viceregal palace, which they besieged and burned amid shouts of "Death to the viceroy, the corregidor, the Spaniards, and gachupines!"

Professor Leonard has carefully annotated the document with copious editorial notes which explain various mistakes of diction and orthography in the original text. In the editorial notes there is an abundance of very valuable material obtained from the archives of Spain, which furnishes information on many points. There is a useful list of printed and unpublished documents which were consulted by the author relative to the tumult of 1692. The letter published is a copy of the original, which seems to have been lost. The copy is signed by Sigüenza y Góngora and is dated August 30, 1692; it exists in the Bancroft Library. There is an appendix containing important documents relating to the subject. The book has a better index than most Spanish works. We hope that Professor Leonard will translate this interesting and useful document into English.

LILLIAN ESTELLE FISHER.

Oklahoma College for Women.

Bibliografía Puertorriqueña. [University of Puerto Rico Monographs: Series A, Spanish Studies, No. I.] By ANTONIO S. PEDREIRA. (Madrid: Imp. de Hernando, 1932. Pp. XXXII, 709. Paper, \$1.50; leather, \$2.00.)

With the *Bibliografía Puertorriqueña*, beautifully printed and beautifully bound in Spain, the University of Puerto Rico initiates its series of Hispanic Studies with what promises to be a valuable contribution to Hispano-Americana. Compiled and edited by Antonio S. Pedreira, head of the University's Department of Spanish Studies, the Bibliography lists every important work written about Puerto Rico or by Puerto Ricans, from 1493, the year when Columbus discovered the island, to January of 1931. Some ten thousand entries are tabulated in the six hundred subdivisions of the book. There is an appendix; and, in addition to the general index, an index of subjects and one of authors. These last range from Ponce de León, first Governor of Puerto Rico, to Theodore Roosevelt, Jr.; from Cardinal Cisneros to Luis Muñoz Marín, Thomas E. Benner, and Carlos Chardón.

The volume is divided into sections on Bibliographical Sources; General Information; Natural History; Public Health; Social Economics; Political and Administrative History; Cultural Organization; History of Puerto Rico; Literary History; and Miscellaneous Works. It lists practically all information published in any language about the island, as well as the native output.

The mere enumeration of verbose and revealing titles under some of the early headings makes exciting narrative. Isabella's royal cédula, for instance, ordering Spanish ships bound for Hispaniola to stop at San Juan "in order to inspire fear in the Caribs"; the royal order that steps be taken by the governor of Puerto Rico to ascertain if there be gold in Jamaica; the royal cédula ordering Juan Cerón and Miguel Díaz to "show more love and amiability" toward Ponce de León; the long list of letters from Ponce de León himself to the king, fulminating wrath against his subordinates, filled with pride in his discovery of what he termed "the Island of Florida"; breathing the impatience of the rugged conquistador held to his post in Puerto Rico for twenty years, pining with desire—in his own term—to "finish discovering Florida".

A Stevensonian list of contemporary accounts of pirate raids, at-

tacks by the Dutch, the French, and the British; Drake's attempt to take the island; Sir Ralph Abercromby's report of his siege of San Juan in 1797; then, after a century, the Spanish-American War, and Richard Harding Davis's story of the bombardment of San Juan.

There is much human interest here for those who know their Puerto Rico. Under "Invasion of Puerto Rico", for example, the second entry is "Observations on the Campaign in Western Puerto Rico during the Spanish American War", by Bailey K. Ashford, then a young lieutenant in the United States army. Turn to the section on Public Health: there are listed publication on publication by Dr. Bailey K. Ashford, settled in Puerto Rico, married there, dedicated to the study of tropical diseases, making those contributions to medical science on unciniariasis, on sprue, reporting the thirty years of practice and research on the island which have made him one of the chief living authorities on tropical medicine.

Extremely interesting facts about the cultural, social, and economic life of the self-contained little Caribbean land are revealed. One hundred and fifty novels by Puerto Rican writers are listed, for instance; a surprising number to those who had thought of Puerto Rico as expressing itself by invariable preference through music, poetry, or politics. The insular contributions to the literature of sugar-cane—the principal crop—begin about 1884, though there are royal communications relative to cane-production as far back as the sixteenth century, and five solid pages are devoted to sugar-cane bibliography. Forty-two titles concern that destructive force in Puerto Rican economic life, the hurricane (the word "hurricane" itself is, ominously, Puerto Rico's one contribution to the English language). Socialism, now a main factor in island politics, makes its earliest appearance in the Bibliography through the *Socialist Catechism*, published in 1905. Fifteen titles are listed under Strikes. Feminism seems to have made a tentative appearance in 1888, though the occasion was only a paper advocating wider educational advantages for women; a far cry from the elections of this year 1932, with women voting and the liberal party presenting a woman candidate for the insular senate. The section on Labor, titles ranging from *The State of the Population and of Labor* (in Spanish, 1883) to Bailey and Justine Diffie's *Porto Rico: A Broken Pledge*, is an unconscious arraignment of a system. Merely the names of books and articles under the periods of United States and Spanish control help illuminate the history of two colonial theories.

Clearly, this bibliography is a volume in which one can browse as contentedly as in a dictionary. In justice to the author, moreover, its value as a conscientious piece of research and a unique source of information should be emphasized. The first real bibliography of Puerto Rico, it is invaluable in its field. It is worthy of note that Dr. Pedreira has done his utmost to make it of practical assistance to the investigator. Old documents, for instance—edicts of the crown and contemporary narratives—are listed in their most easily accessible, usually the most recent, printed form.

A main object, Dr. Pedreira says in his modest and luminous Introduction, "has been to make this Bibliography a point of departure for those who would make new additions to our culture. Offering the initial facilities to the worker, it will enable him to proceed without loss of time, aware of what has already been done in his own field".

"A bibliography", he concludes, "besides being the best justified expression of a people's mentality, prepares and simplifies that people's spiritual diagnosis".

MUNA LEE.

University of Puerto Rico,
Río Piedras, P. R.

La Condesa de Merlin. By DOMINGO FIGAROLA CANEDA. (Paris: Ex-celsior, 1926. Pp. xxii, 394. Illus. Paper. 100 Fr.)

Sr. Figarola Caneda, the well known Cuban historian, who was for many years head of the National Library in Havana, did not live to see this interesting book off the press. It is a posthumous work, for Sr. Figarola Caneda died in the very year of its publication. His wife, Sra. Figarola Caneda, who acted as his assistant and who was well known for her own erudition, undertook to publish several works which her husband had completed, but she was able to publish only the volume under review and one other—a volume relating to G. G. de Avellaneda—before her own death which occurred recently in Paris.

The volume deals with the biography and literary work of Mercedes de Santa Cruz y Montalvo, countess of Merlin after her marriage to one of the soldiers of Napoleon during the French invasion in Spain. Mme. Merlin was born in Cuba into a family of the old creole aristocracy, but she lived the greater part of her life in Europe,

especially in Paris. Barred from Spanish dominions because of her marriage to a French invader, it was a long time before she could cause this circumstance to be forgotten. However, she never forgot her country and she always took delight in the company of Cuban intellectuals and travelers whom she met in Paris. She met and entertained the most noted Cubans of her time, they being the link which bound her to Cuba; and through intercourse with them and the information imparted by them, she wrote and published several books about Cuba. One must confess, however, that these books, although interesting and causing her to become known in France and Cuba as a writer, were not very accurate. They were written in a romantic style and her interpretation was colored by the fact that she had no first-hand acquaintance with Cuba, but only received her information second hand. She was discussed to some extent in Cuba, especially when her books appeared, and her portraits of Cuban life and customs were displeasing to many. Her place in Cuban literature is but secondary, very much lower, for instance, than that occupied by G. G. de Avellaneda.

Countess Merlin was distinctly a product of her time with the virtues and faults of many of her contemporaries. She belonged, one must not forget, to the time of George Sand; and her temperament and her genius—keeping in mind the proper perspective—resemble greatly those of the great French novelist, and at times it becomes evident that the ardent daughter of the tropics was consciously imitating George Sand as her model.

This posthumous work of Sr. Figarola Caneda, as all his other works, is marked by his usual accuracy and thoroughness. The fact that Countess Merlin did not approach even closely to the "near great" does not prevent her papers and the data concerning her from being useful in interpreting the age in which she lived.

HERMINIO PORTELL VILÁ.

Washington, D. C.

American Foreign Policy in Mexican Relations. By JAMES MORTON CALLAHAN. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932. Pp. x, 644. Maps. \$3.00.)

This study represents the result of a laborious and painstaking investigation into more than a century of complex, confused, and often

acute relations, conducted by one of our ablest students and writers in the field of international relations. The amount of material that Professor Callahan has been able to gather and condense into a single volume is amazing; yet so thorough has been his work that no important problem seems to have escaped his attention. For the period prior to 1907, he has waded through and skilfully gleaned the essential material from the voluminous unpublished "Instructions" and "Despatches" in the archives of the department of state. For the years since then, he has relied upon the volumes of *Foreign Relations* and other published government documents, supplemented by data from newspapers and periodicals.

From the very beginning, relations with the Mexican republic have been quite as frequently marked by suspicion and irritation as by friendship and understanding. Once they led to war and several times, notably before and immediately after, the World War, conflict was avoided only by the narrowest margin. For the strained relations in the record, Mexican officials have not always been responsible. The lack of sympathy and patience with a people "groping toward nationality and political stability", not to mention occasional acts of stupidity and courtesy displayed by many representatives of the United States at Mexico City, combined with a superior attitude on the part of several administrations at Washington, have played their part in contributing to misunderstanding. On the other hand there have been frequent examples of patience and goodwill under conditions that were extremely provoking. Outstanding among these is Seward's policy in the turbulent period following the French occupation of Mexico when the nation which he helped to preserve from foreign dangers lapsed into internal disorder, affecting the border. Not until the rise of Díaz to power was there any improvement in conditions. His willingness to settle old problems combined with a friendly attitude toward American economic enterprise, resulted in better relations between the two governments, which were maintained until the overthrow of Mexico's strong man, bringing new figures, new forces, and new policies to the front. How nearly these new factors came to creating an armed conflict between the two nations can now, as a result of this study, be fully appreciated. Although it is not so stated, the reviewer suspects that Professor Callahan would agree that but for the major conflict raging in Europe at the time, demand-

ing first attention from the people and government of the United States, war could hardly have been averted.

The study concludes with an account of the adjustments of the decade since 1920. The importance of Hearst, Fall, Fletcher, and the oil men in influencing the attitude toward Mexico is duly noted. One would welcome an estimate of the factors that counterbalanced their influence. Probably it cannot be given at this time. When it is, the reviewer believes that an important one, not considered in this study, which concerns itself more with actual policies adopted than with the fundamental forces that called them into existence, will be recognized as having been the strong, liberal, and protestant sentiment in the United States which sympathized so strongly with the land and church policy of the Mexican government that no administration or alarmed secretary of state dared ignore it.

LEO J. MEYER.

New York University.

John Charles Frémont: An Explanation of His Career. By CARDINAL GOODWIN. (Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1930. Pp. xi, 285. Map. \$4.00.)

If the reader carefully bears in mind the sub-title of this volume, he will better appreciate the work. Not only does the book fall short, in several respects, of being a complete biography; it is also rather narrowly confined to certain phases of Frémont's life which especially interest the author and upon which he brings to bear a sort of "higher criticism" in refutation of the claims of the six previous biographers of the Pathfinder. For many of the details of the career of Frémont, then, one must still turn to the works of Nevins, Dellenbaugh, and others.

Regarded as a new and "more definitive interpretation" of the adventurer's life-story, one may freely admit that Dr. Goodwin has fulfilled his chief purpose concerning Frémont, "to explain the influences and forces which brought him prominence and to evaluate the part he actually played in the public and private enterprises with which his name has been associated". Notably, the book centers upon the conduct of Frémont in connection with the Bear Flag rebellion, the conquest of California, the western campaigns of the Civil War, and the transcontinental railway scandals. Herein have been un-

earthered a number of interesting revelations not wholly to the credit of Frémont, while in several cases—such as the tragic winter expedition of 1848-1849—much of the tinsel glory surrounding the Pathfinder's western adventures has been removed.

In harmony with the biographer's theory that Frémont was, as he himself asserted, "but a pawn . . . pushed forward to the front at the opening of the game", relatively little consideration is given to the adventurer's share in the international background of the Mexican War and the conquest of California. It is to be regretted that so little new evidence has been revealed concerning some of the events leading up to the Bear Flag revolt. On this subject, Dr. Goodwin contents himself with stressing—and rightly—the need of discrimination between Frémont's own statements in 1846 and the somewhat colored reminiscences in his *Memoirs* of 1887. But one is tempted to believe that more use might still be made of Mexican sources, especially with regard to the relations between Castro and Frémont at Monterey. The Mexican attitude toward Frémont in both of his California expeditions is thus neglected, although the author seemingly makes a fair judgment of Frémont's vacillating conduct in the Bear Flag episode, and weighs carefully the arguments pro and con of the Stockton-Kearny-Frémont imbroglio. By reasonable arguments it seems to be proved, also, that much of the conjecture regarding Gillespie's mission to Frémont arose from the adventurer's own later pretensions to credit.

The general thesis of the work is that Frémont's career may be explained by the fact that he was the creature of environment and circumstance. From this point of view, the Pathfinder began his life of exploration from sheer love of adventure and the frontier, but was gradually drawn, partly by marriage and partly by politics and the army, into a sphere of action far beyond the scope of his mental and moral character, and therefore won a prestige exceeding his merit.

Dr. Goodwin has obviously proceeded with care and detachment in considering the large amount of material available on Frémont. His appraisal is of interest as a fresh interpretation of much old and some new material. In particular, the bibliographical appendix is useful as a guide to Frémontiana. The work contains a good index and a fairly good map of Frémont's expeditions. While its lack of balance and neglect of detail exclude it from a position as the defin-

itive life of Frémont, it should rank as an important addition to the literature on this controversial character, because of the author's concentration upon and explanation of some of the most disputed points in the Pathfinder's glamorous career.

RUFUS KAY WYLLYS.

Arizona State Teachers College.

Forgotten Frontiers. By ALFRED BARNABY THOMAS. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932. Pp. 420. Maps. \$5.00.)

This book is not a popular account of New Mexican History as suggested by the title, but a useful reference work. The theme of the study "is to present the contribution of Governor Anza in handling the Indian barricade in the key province of New Mexico". The larger part of the book consists of a great wealth of manuscript material, most of which is translated into English and made available for the first time. There is also an historical introduction of eighty-four pages.

The subject matter of the introduction is divided into two parts—the Apache on the southern frontier and the Comanche on the northern frontier. The introduction is not a thrilling story of the famous Anza's work in New Mexico, as it might easily have been because of the interesting material used, but the style is heavy, there is a lack of clarity in many places, and peculiar expressions are found, no doubt, due to following the wording of the documents. The following examples have been noted: "More the Navajo as Anza pointed out being so strengthened" etc. (p. 29); "Unfortunately Mexia died, though Croix promised Chacon if found, but the detachment he could not supply" (p. 35); "Themselves, fat with Apache lands" etc. (p. 59); "Though urged to abandon the spot lest the Comanches return after dark, Anza retorted that honor courted the very thing they feared" (p. 69); and others. There are various slips in proof reading; perhaps this is owing to the fact that the book is the first of a series on the civilization of the American Indians published by the University of Oklahoma Press. The first footnote on the left-hand side of the page should not begin with *Ibid.*, as on pages 26, 56, 76, 78, and 80. Throughout the work, punctuation is omitted after dates (see p. 8, and elsewhere). There are certain exaggerated statements. If Anza "opened a route between New Mexico and Sonora for trading

and strategic purposes" (p. IX) why was it that there had been communication and trade between the two provinces for years? It can hardly be said that Anza "saved the Moqui from extermination", since they persistently refused aid from the Spaniards. If Croix "held for all time the border line of Mexico against northern aggression" (p. 14) why was the United States not prevented from acquiring the Floridas, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California—unless, indeed, the remark was only intended to refer to Indian aggression?

The translation of the documents is accurate; nevertheless in some places the style might have been improved without changing the meaning, for example, the involved sentence "From its sources [the Rio Grande] as far as the presidio of" etc. (p. 90). It is not necessary to say "it [the region]" (p. 91), but just the region which is understood. The sentence beginning "In 1765, one hundred and fifty-nine families" etc (p. 96) has no verb. There is a similar verbless sentence on page 112—"Some lead with silver in the little hills of Santa Fe and the arroyo to the south". The people who lived on the *rancherías* marched, not the *rancherías* (p. 132). In the first document translated it would have been better if the explanation of the numbers in the brackets could have been given in a footnote at the bottom of the page instead of in the editorial notes at the back of the book. Many readers, no doubt, would prefer to have all the editorial notes at the bottom of the pages.

The book contains four very interesting maps and photographs of two important documents. One map, entitled "Spanish Exploration in New Mexico 1779-1785", was compiled by Dr. Thomas; it shows the routes of the various explorers in New Mexico within the dates mentioned. There is an excellent bibliography.

The volume, on the whole, is an excellent piece of work and it contributes much valuable information on the history and ethnology of the Southwest.

LILLIAN ESTELLE FISHER.

Oklahoma College for Women.

The Capitalists and Colombia. By J. FRED RIPPY, Professor of History, Duke University. (New York: Vanguard Press, 1931. Pp. xxxii, 256. \$2.00.)

This volume by Professor Rippy is one of a series designed to indicate how wickedly Wall Street has exploited our Hispanic American neighbors through the support of a too compliant state department. Preceding volumes painted in lurid colors the baleful effects of United States imperialism in Cuba, Bolivia, Santo Domingo, and Porto Rico. Both title and propaganda inform the prospective reader that at last the hitherto "hidden relations" between the United States and Hispanic America are fully revealed: the sinister motives that "underlie and motivate much of our diplomatic activity" are now disclosed for the first time. It is distinctly a series for sophisticated sophomores, or for aspiring members of collegiate international relations clubs.

It is refreshing to note that despite the handicap of such an uninspiring series, Professor Rippy has produced a volume of real worth. After a short account of "Colombia and the Colombians", Professor Rippy gives the reader two interesting chapters on "Early Activities and Investments" and on the "Protection of U. S. Citizens" in Colombia. These chapters make a fitting prelude to a discussion of the events leading up to, and the distressing effects of, the chief item in the catalogue of United States misdeeds in Hispanic America: the "Taking of Panama". Some of our leading statesmen and several of our prominent publicists had the temerity to believe that there was legal justification of such intervention. Professor Rippy, however, has scant sympathy for such legal quibbles. To him it appears uncontestedly true that our rough rider president did not have a "scrupulous conscience". Some years back such a charge would promptly have initiated Professor Rippy into that select and fast growing brotherhood—the Ananias Club.

It was fortunate for capitalists of the United States that in 1913 President Wilson began an earnest campaign to convince Hispanic America that imperialism was no longer to be the keynote of the United States policy in lands south of the Rio Grande. Secretary Bryan warmly echoed this gospel of anti-imperialism, and indicated a strong attachment to certain principles of the Prince of Peace. This was reassuring to Hispanic America which most of all resents being robbed without the observance of the proper punctilio. The

way was now prepared for the idealistic Wilson régime to play the strange but effective rôle of helping Wall Street either to secure important concessions or to have cancelled the concessions previously granted to European investors. And if the Wilson administration, wittingly or unwittingly, played the part assigned to it by Wall Street "Petroleros", what could one expect of the Harding administration, the cabinet of which contained at least one member who was excessively anxious that the enterprising spirit of oil barons of the United States be not damped by an unfriendly official attitude. It was only to be expected that, on April 20, 1921, the senate of the United States would finally accept the treaty which some seven years previously had already been negotiated by the Wilson administration—a treaty which promised some twenty-five millions in order to erase bitter memories.

In a chapter entitled "The Oil Companies and their Difficulties", Professor Rippy not only indicates the rapid increase in United States investments in Colombian oil-fields, but he also shows how the department of state became very solicitous concerning the cancelling of the De Barco concession which was owned in part by an official who held the important post of secretary of the treasury. It is an interesting story, but one that is quite familiar to the student of dollar diplomacy. Indeed, the general theme of Professor Rippy's whole book is distinctly a hackneyed one, but in his competent hands it takes on a sparkle and a rhythm that affords an excellent illustration of how history can be both interesting and accurate.

CHARLES C. TANSILL.

American University.

Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States. By CHARLES O. PAULLIN. Edited by JOHN K. WRIGHT. ([Baltimore]: Published jointly by The Carnegie Institution of Washington and The American Geographical Society of New York, 1932. Pp. xv, 162; 166 plates. \$15.00.)

This coöperative atlas, finally consummated after a generation of planning and effort, largely by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson and other scholars in the United States, is divided into a number of sections of which those bearing the following titles will be found of most value to students of Hispanic American history: "Cartography, 1492-

1867"; "Indians, 1567-1930"; "Explorations in the West and Southwest"; and "Boundaries, 1607-1927".

Doubtless, the most interesting of these sections is that dealing with cartography, which was planned and arranged by Dr. James Alexander Robertson, who also wrote the descriptive text for each map. Unfortunately, however, many of the maps originally selected for this section were rejected for lack of space after the change of format made by The American Geographical Society and the consequent exclusion of much of the other materials; but it is to be hoped that these may be printed elsewhere in the near future.

The forty-eight maps in this section may be divided into two types, namely, general maps and special maps of relatively restricted areas. Taken together these show the progressive improvement made in the cartographical art from about the year 1492 when Behaim's globe appeared (here inserted by Mr. Wright as the first map in the series to show the extent of cartographical knowledge before the discovery of America). In the first classification, six maps (*La Cosa*, ca., 1500, *Cantino*, ca., 1502, *Maggiolo*, ca., 1519, *Turin*, ca., 1523, *Verrazano*, 1529, and *Harleian*, ca., 1536) depict the West Indies and the adjacent North and South American coasts; six more (*Gastaldi*, 1546, *Mercator*, 1569, *Hakluyt*, 1587, *Ortelius*, 1589, *Molineaux-Wright*, 1600, and *Tattonus*, 1600) show the whole or major part of North America; and eight others (*Hondius*, 1630, *Delisle*, 1700, 1718, and ca., 1750, *Popple*, 1733, *Bellin*, 1743, and *Arrowsmith*, 1814) show North America in whole or in part in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Maps in the second classification include: 1. Early maps of the gulf coast and southeastern United States (*Cortés*, 1520; *De Soto*, ca., 1544, *Lemoyne*, 1591, *Gentil*, ca., 1700); 2. Seventeenth and eighteenth century maps of northern and eastern North America (*Smith*, 1612 and 1616, *Champlain*, 1612 and 1632, *De Laet*, 1630, *Sanson*, 1656, *Delisle*, 1703, *Evans*, 1755, and *Mitchell*, 1755); 3. Seventeenth century maps of the Great Lakes (*Jesuit*, 1672 and *Raffeix*, 1688); 4. Seventeenth and eighteenth century maps of the Pacific coast (*Vizcaino*, 1603, *Müller*, 1754, and *Vancouver*, 1798); 5. Maps showing results of early nineteenth century explorations west of the Mississippi River (*Clark*, 1810 and *Pike*, 1810); and 6. General maps illustrating progress of geographical knowledge concerning the United States west of the Mississippi

(Lewis, 1804, Humboldt, 1811, Bonneville, 1737, Chapin, 1839, Greenhow, 1840, Smith, 1843, and Colton, 1867). In every case these maps are clearly printed and admirably reproduced.

Not the least important part of this section are the historical and cartographical essays concerning the maps, which had, it should be noted, the benefit of the criticism of Dr. Paullin and of Dr. Wright. Dr. Robertson should be congratulated on his work and should be encouraged to continue it in a separately printed and enlarged atlas which will show effectually the development of Iberian cartographic knowledge about America. The whole coöperative work, indeed, is a monument to American scholarship, and the work of Dr. Paullin and Dr. Wright should be given wide recognition. The volume is one more result of Dr. Jameson's wise planning. Its actual working out is a monument to Dr. Paullin. [Since this review was written, the Loubat prize has been awarded to Dr. Paullin (two-thirds) and Dr. Wright (one-third)].

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

The George Washington University.

Ancient Americans: The Archaeological Story of Two Continents. By EMILY C. DAVIS. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1931. Pp. xi, 311. Illus. Index. \$3.50.)

Every student and teacher of American history should read this book. It is true that it contains nothing that can not be found in other books, except, perhaps, in some of the conclusions that are suggested; but it gives in small compass a very concrete idea of what the historian owes to the archaeologist, and of the discoveries that have been made by which the daily life of the ancient dwellers on the American continents can be more than guessed at. The case for the archaeologist is well put, but the cases for both geographer and historian have not been belittled. Indeed, the author has emphasized many times the interdependence of the three.

Of direct interest to the student of Hispanic American history are chapters XII-XIX, which deal with the Mayas, the Aztecs, the Incas, and various results of their civilizations. Other chapters, such as those on the Pueblos and builders of the mounds in North America are of derived interest.

The author must have done an immense amount of reading; and

that she has digested it is evidenced by her sane conclusions. She has wisely insisted on the debt owed to the Indian because of the vegetable foods he has developed—especially maize and potatoes. The author has included a chronological list of "Some Excavations and Publications important to American Archaeology". Two lists—one of excavations and the other of publications—would have been more useful; and more generous bibliographical data would have been desirable. As a record of work done, the volume is admirable.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

NOTES AND COMMENT

At the forty-seventh annual meeting of the American Historical Association which was held at Toronto, a session was devoted to Hispanic American History. The chairman of the meeting was Professor Vera Lee Brown, of Smith College. Papers were read by Professor Percy Alvin Martin, "Artigas, the Founder of Uruguayan Nationality"; Professor Roy F. Nichols, "The first United States Consuls and Trade Relations with the Spanish-American Empire, 1779-1808"; and Professor J. F. Rippy, "The British Bondholders and the Roosevelt Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine". At the joint session of the American Society of Church History and the American Historical Association, Professor Benjamin Webb Wheeler read a paper on "Archbishop Juan de Zumarraga, first Archbishop in the Western Hemisphere".

Once more the George Washington University is offering special work in the field of Hispanic American History in the form of a second Seminar Conference on Hispanic American affairs. The emphasis this summer, however, is centralized on the Caribbean area and the work is so arranged that students whose interests lie in the field of American diplomacy and particularly in the history of Mexico, Central America, the West Indies, and northern South America will receive the utmost benefit from attendance.

The Seminar Conference offers to its members an exceptional opportunity to come into intimate contact with leading authorities in the field, and the course has been so arranged that mutual views and opinions can be exchanged with maximum facility and answers to perplexing questions can be found.

The Conference will meet two hours daily, five times a week, for six weeks. The first portion of each period will be devoted to lectures and the last portion to informal discussions. Each student will be provided with reading references in the nature of detailed bibliographies covering the subject of each lecture. At the conclusion of the conference a comprehensive examination will be held and each student satisfactorily passing the course will be given 4 academic credits in either History, Political Science, or Economics.

The lectures in the Seminar Conference will be given by a group of specialists including Professor Chester Lloyd Jones, of the University of Wisconsin; Professor Samuel Guy Inman, of Columbia University; Professor J. Fred Rippy, of Duke University; Professor Clarence F. Jones, of Clark University; Dr. Herminio Portel Vila, of the University of Havana; Professor Roscoe R. Hill, formerly Professor of History at Columbia and a member of the Nicaraguan War Claims Commission; Professor W. H. Calleott, of the University of South Carolina; Dr. W. W. Pierson, of the University of North Carolina, and others. The course is in charge of Dr. A. Curtis Wilgus, Associate Professor of Hispanic American History in the George Washington University. All students desiring to join the Seminar Conference should communicate with Professor Wilgus in advance of registration.

A group of persons in Washington, D. C., who are interested in things Hispanic American, organized in December, 1932, an Inter-American forum. The aims of the group are to facilitate mutual acquaintance of individuals working in a common field, to furnish prominent visitors coming to Washington from Hispanic American countries and elsewhere a medium of friendly inspiration and appreciation, and to encourage in the nation's capital the production of contributions to knowledge in the field of Hispanic American affairs. The first temporary officers of the group were Professor A. Curtis Wilgus, President, and J. M. Martínez, Secretary.

The activities of the Division of Intellectual Coöperation of the Pan American Union are constantly assuming a wider and more useful character. It has become a clearing house for information on many subjects. During 1932, the following inquiries are typical of the requests for aid continually being received in the division: a comprehensive report on curricula and teaching methods used in the United States, in all branches of instruction; technical education in the United States; schools of soap-making and of ceramics; opportunities for art study in Mexico; commercial education in the United States and Latin America; medical schools in various Latin American countries; education of the Indian in countries having a large aboriginal population; texts used in the various Latin American countries for the study of history and civics; home life in Latin America; im-

portant Latin American criminologists; child welfare work in the United States; the practice of professions in Latin American countries; institutes in the United States for the study of social problems in industry; a list of inter-American treaties dealing with the interchange of professors and the practice of liberal professions; journalism in Latin America; publications on the art of printing and schools of printing. The recently published (mimeographed) report of the head of the division, Miss Brainard, should be read by all, for it shows in light detail something of the accomplishments of the division, both in the United States and in Hispanic America. Among other things, Miss Brainard notes that the services of the division were requested by two Hispanic American countries in obtaining an expert in primary education and a psychologist respectively. In connection with the Colombian Library the division served as an intermediary for the distribution of various special reports, which were sent to lists of names carefully selected for each case, and for the exchange of publications between associations in various countries. Miss Brainard also notes that the Junior College at St. Petersburg, Florida, offered a tuition scholarship in 1932 for each country of Hispanic America. Thirty-two institutions in the United States now offering free tuition to Hispanic Americans, while thirty-five more provide scholarships covering all or part of the living expenses. Certain educational and cultural organizations provide other scholarships. The division has coöperated with many individuals and organizations, among the latter being the Inter-American Bibliographical Associations.

Dr. Carlos E. Castañeda, Librarian of the Garcia Latin American Library of the University of Texas has been granted a year's leave of absence in order to make investigations in the history of the Catholic Church in Texas for the Texas Knights of Columbus Historical Commission; as well as various researches for the University of Texas.

A Cuban-American Friendship Council has been formed in Washington, D. C., the address of which is Room 505, 1420 New York Ave., N. W. Its purpose is to promote a better understanding between the peoples of Cuba and the United States. The Council is undertaking to present public opinion of Cuba and the United States with accurate and unbiased information concerning their interwoven interests, and to suggest solutions to problems as they arise, it being hoped in this

way to obviate somewhat the mischief that has so frequently been caused in the past by selfish and predatory and short-sighted political and business interests. At the head of the organization are the following: president, Dr. Fernando Ortiz, ex-president of the Economic Society of Havana, formerly professor in the University of Havana, and editor of *Revista Bimestre Cubana*; vice-president, Sr. Eduardo J. Chibas, civil engineer; director, Sr. Rafael Cabrera, sugar planter and former congressman of Cuba; secretary, Dr. Herminio Portell Vila, publicist, professor of Cuban History, University of Havana. The organization publishes a mimeographed report from time to time which can probably be had by writing to the above address.

In an article published some time ago, entitled "Engineers versus Poets", Dr. Samuel Guy Inman of the Committee on Coöperation in Latin America, calls attention to the fact that "In matters of public order, public health, public schools and economic development, our Latin American neighbors are far behind our own standards". He continues "But the sudden jar which we in the United States are at present receiving with reference to the perfection of our machine civilization makes us more willing to see some of the advantages in Latin America which heretofore have largely been considered as faults". Dr. Inman has no patience with those who would belittle one civilization at the expense of the other but says well that it is "a question of keeping balanced, that neither one allow itself to develop to the extreme its special emphasis on life". It is commonly asserted that the United States is practical and Hispanic America idealistic, "but if the definition of these two words means that one is always looking for aggrandizement and the other is always unselfishly living for the spiritual that statement is certainly not correct". But the author does find that the one civilization has produced the engineer and the other the poet.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

DESCRIPTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE BRAZILIAN SECTION OF THE DUKE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

It is the purpose of this bibliography to list the principal items in the Brazilian section of the library of Duke University. Where it seemed advisable, descriptive data have been added as well as a few desirable titles not in this library.¹ The various items are grouped, with convenient subdivisions, under three main heads: bibliographical aids; contemporary accounts, 1500-1822; and works written since 1822. The bibliography does not pretend to be exhaustive but it is hoped that it may be helpful to students of Brazilian history.

I. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AIDS

Among the general bibliographies the work of the Brazilian scholar, A. V. A. Sacramento Blake, *Diccionario Bibliographico Brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1883-1902. 7 vols.) is indispensable. Blake's work, Innocencio Francisco da Silva, *Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez. Estudos applic. a Portugal e ao Brasil c. supplemento, contin. e ampl. p. B. Aranha. Aditamentos p. M. da Fonseca* (Lisbôa, Coimbra, 1858-1927. 23 vols.), and José Carlos Rodrigues, *Bibliotheca Brasiliense. Catalogo annotado dos Livros sobre o Brasil e de alguns Autographos e manuscritos. Pt. I [unico]. Descobrimento da America: 1492-1822* (Rio de Janeiro, 1907) constitute the principal bibliographical aids in the Portuguese language. The supplement and additional volumes of Innocencio's work bring his bibliography past the turn of the century; José Rodrigues's volume, listing over 2,600 items, is a catalogue of the greatest single private collection of Braziliiana in existence at the time of his death. Of value also are: Alfredo de Carvalho, *Bibliotheca Exotico-Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1929), published by the state of Pernambuco under the direction of

¹ Titles or editions not in the Duke University Library are marked with an asterisk (*).

Eduardo Tavares;² Diogo Barbosa Machado, **Bibliotheca Lusitana Historica, Critica, e Cronologica* (Lisbon, 1741-1759. 4 vols.);³ Jorge Cesar de Figanière, **Bibliographia Historica Portugueza* (Lisbôa, 1850); and Manoel dos Santos, **Bibliographia Geral ou Descripção bibliographica de livros tantos de autores Portugueses como Brasileiros . . . impressos desde o seculo XVI atê a actualidade* (Lisbôa, 1914-1917). In English Joseph Sabin (and others), *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America from its Discovery to the Present Time* (New York, 1868-. Vols. 1-) is exceptionally complete and detailed. The set is extremely useful. Margaret B. Stillwell, *Incunabula and Americana, 1450-1800. A Key to Bibliographical Study* (New York, 1831) includes titles dealing with Brazil. Useful bibliographies in French are: Charles Chadenat, **Bibliotheca Braziliensis. Le Bibliophile Américain*, No. 38 (Paris, c. 1910) containing about 1,760 items, early and modern, concerning Brazil; A. L. Garraux, *Bibliographie Brésilienne* (Paris, 1898) listing French and Latin works dealing with Brazil, 1500-1898; Ch. Leclerc, **Bibliotheca Americana*, with additions and supplements (Paris, 1867-1887); and H. Ternaux-Compans, **Bibliothèque Américaine* (Paris, 1836) with works from the discovery to 1700. For the Jesuits the *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus, Première Partie: Bibliographie par les Pères Augustin e Aloys de Backer* (Nouvelle Édition par Carlos Sommervogel, S. J., 1890. 10 vols.) is helpful.

The Biblioteca Nacional in Rio de Janeiro contains a vast amount of useful material. In 1822, the greater part of the Royal Library, which had been transferred to Rio de Janeiro when the Court fled from Lisbon, was carried back to Portugal, but much was left behind under the care of D. Pedro. To this nucleus, which included the manuscript collections accumulated by José I. and João VI. numbering over one thousand items, were added, besides the general acquisi-

² The project was started by Alfredo de Carvalho who planned to issue a catalogue which would list authors, titles, and editions of Brazilianiana in Brazil and in Europe and which would also contain a resumé of the works cited. He had accumulated a vast number of titles when he died, 1916, without finishing the project. Tavares was authorized to edit a publication of his material.

³ Barbosa Machado collected some thousands of the rarer volumes on Portuguese history, many pamphlets, pictures and prints, maps, etc. When the national library was destroyed by fire after the Lisbon earthquake (1755), he gave his collection to King José who made it the nucleus of a new library. It was moved to Rio de Janeiro in 1808 and became the foundation of the Brazilian national library.

tions of half a century, special items secured by Pedro I.; the libraries of the Conde da Barca and José Bonifacio; the collection of the Argentine Pedro de Angelis, purchased by the Imperial Government in 1853, containing more than 1,295 manuscripts and dealing exclusively with South American topics; bound manuscripts donated by the Brazilian historian Mello Moraes; and the excellent collection of Braziliana assembled by Manuel Ferreira Lagos.

In 1873, the cataloguing of the material in the National Library was begun under the direction of Alfredo do Valle Cabral. The results of the undertaking have been published since that date by the National Library largely in its *Annaes*. Manuscripts are listed in *Catalogo dos Manuscritos da Biblioteca Nacional (Annaes, IV., V., X., and XV., Fasciculo I., XVIII., and XXIII.).* A guide to a special collection rich in material dealing with the history of Holland, the Dutch West Indies Company, and Dutch occupation in Brazil was issued as *Catalogo da Collecção Salvador de Mendonça*⁴ (*Annaes, XXVII.*). A descriptive catalogue of books and manuscripts pertaining to the early history of Brazil included in the National Historical Exhibition held in Rio de Janeiro, in 1881, was published under the editorship of B. F. Ramiz Galvão as *Catalogo da Exposição de Historia do Brazil (Annaes IX., pts. I and II)*. The exhibitions included items loaned by private individuals, associations, libraries, and states. Outright possession of much of the material so assembled was secured by the National Library and organized into a permanent exposition. A catalogue of this material was published as *Catalogo da Exposição Permanente (Annaes, XI.)*. A guide to the superb collection of pictures, prints, and engravings of historical personages—kings, princes, bishops, conquerors, administrators, etc.—and of coins, flags, autographs, and emblems, collected by Diogo Barbosa Machado in the eighteenth century and belonging to the National Library, was published as *Catalogo dos Retratos Collegidos por Diogo Barboza Machado (Annaes, XVI., Fasciculo I. and II., XVII., Fasciculo 2, XVIII., XX., XXI., and XXVI.)*.

Bibliographies of material on special subjects have also been published by the National Library. At the request of Charles W. Darling, secretary of the Oneida Historical Society of Utica, N. Y., a list of the

⁴ Salvador de Mendonça was a Brazilian diplomat. His collection was donated to the National Library 1884-1890.

most important versions and editions of the Bible possessed by the National Library was prepared under the title *Catalogo por ordem Chronologica das Biblias, Corpos de Biblia, Concordancias e Commentarios existentes na Biblioteca Nacional do Rio* (*Annaes*, XVII., Fasciculo I). When, toward the end of the last century, disputes over the northern boundary of Brazil became acute, a list of material dealing with the subject was published as *Subsidios existentes na Biblioteca Nacional para o estudo da Questão de limites do Brasil pelo Oyopock . . .*⁵ (*Annaes*, XVII., Fasciculo 2, pt. 2).

Material dealing with Brazil to be found in foreign archives and libraries has been fairly well catalogued. Eduardo de Castro e Almeida prepared an *Inventario dos documentos relativos ao Brasil existentes no Archivo de Marinha e Ultramar*⁶ (*Annaes*, XXXI.-XXXIII., XXXVI., XXXVII., and XXXIX.). By order of D. Pedro II. various archives⁷ of Portugal were combed for material of interest to Brazil and the results were published by the Instituto Historico e Geographico Brazileiro in the *Revista* of the Institute⁸ (LXVII. [1904], pt. I). A guide to material in the archives of Holland, in so far as it relates to the Dutch occupation of Brazil, was prepared by José Hygino Duarte Pereira who was sent to Europe to purchase documents dealing with that phase of Brazilian history. The list was published under the title "Trechos do Relatorio que leu

⁵ The catalogue lists material not mentioned in Joaquim Caetano da Silva's monumental work, *L'Oyopoc et l'Amazone: question brésilienne et française* (Paris, 1861, 2 vols.). Titles in the National Library are listed and at times resumés are given.

⁶ The Archivo de Marinha e Ultramar in the National Library of Lisbon was organized in 1901 to care for documents which were formerly filed in archives of the Conselho Ultramarino (extinct 1833) and in the Archivo da Marinha. In addition many papers from other sources dealing with Brazil were moved to this new section. Papers relating to Bahia, 1613-1762, and to all captaincies of Brazil, 1750-1822, constitute the largest part of the material.

⁷ These archives were: Torre do Tombo, Academia Real das Sciencias, Biblioteca de Evora, and Conselho Ultramarino. In some cases extracts of the papers, decrees, voyages, registrations, etc., are given in the catalogue issued by the Institute.

⁸ Hereafter the publication of the Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro do Rio de Janeiro will be cited as *Revista*. The publications of the state institutes will be given in full. A guide to the geographical material in the archives of the National Institute was published by Rodolpho Garcia under the title "Bibliographia Geographica Brasileira" (*Revista*, LXXXV. [1919]).

na sessão especial do Instituto Archeologico Geographico Pernambuco . . ." (*Revista*, XLIX., pt. 2). G. M. Asher,* *A Bibliographical and Historical Essay on the Dutch Books and Pamphlets relating to New Netherland and to the Dutch West-Indian Company and its Possessions in Brazil, Angola, . . . 1614-1666* (Amsterdam, 1854-1867, 2 pts.) gives a more complete list. For material in the Spanish Archives Pedro Souto Maior prepared "Nos Archivos de Haspanha: Relação dos manuscritos que interessam ao Brazil" (*Revista*, LXXXI. [1917]); Manuel de Oliveira Lima rendered a like service for material in the British Museum by publishing his "Relação dos Manuscritos Portuguezes e estrangeiros de interesse para o Brazil, existentes no Museu Britânnico de Londres" (*Revista*, LXV. [1902], pt. II);⁹ and P. Lee Phillips prepared *A List of Books, Magazines and Articles and Maps relating to Brazil in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1800-1900* (Washington, 1901).

Ruth E. V. Holmes's *Bibliographical and Historical Description of the Rarest Books in the Oliveira Lima Collection at the Catholic University of America* (Washington, 1927) serves not only as a guide to an extraordinarily fine collection of Brazilianiana but also as a bibliographical work that is helpful to the student of Brazilian historical literature.¹⁰ The comments on the various titles were dictated by Dr. Oliveira Lima. Of help also are the bibliographical notes by C. K. Jones in various issues of the *Hispanic American Review*. Maggs Brothers Catalogue No. 546, *Bibliotheca Braziliense* (London, 1930) lists nearly three hundred works on Brazil printed between 1493 and 1825 with valuable plates, reproductions of title pages, bibliographical data, etc. *The Histories of Hispanic America, a Bibliographical Essay*, prepared by A. Curtis Wilgus and issued as Bibliographic Series 9 by the Inter-American Bibliographical Association, contains sections on Brazil.

For a legal guide E. M. Borchard, *Guide to the Law and Legal*

* This list was published also as a separate book, Rio de Janeiro, 1903.

¹⁰ The "Catalogue of a Collection of Early Portuguese Books in the Library of H. M. King Manoel of Portugal," the first of a three volume publication published in London in 1929, describes with collations and historical, literary, biographical, and bibliographical notes in English and Portuguese the items assembled by the former king of Portugal. A limited edition of 650 copies of the first volume was issued. The second volume has also appeared and an early publication of Volume III. is announced.

Literature of Argentina, Brazil and Chile (Washington, 1917) is helpful. A. F. Bell, *Portuguese Bibliography* (Oxford, 1922) and Peter H. Goldsmith, *A Brief Bibliography of Books in English, Spanish, and Portuguese, relating to the Republics commonly called Latin America* (New York, 1915) are useful chiefly as guides to Brazilian literature. The mimeographed Bibliographical Series issued by the Pan American Union is valuable as lists of material in the Union library, while the volumes published by the Hispanic Society of America under the title *Bibliographie hispanique* contain titles of *Braziliana*.

II. CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS, 1500-1822

1. DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION

The earliest document concerning Brazil is the letter by Pero Vaz de Caminha to King Manoel, describing Cabral's discovery. The *Carta de Pero Vaz de Caminha Dirigida a El-Rei D. Manoel de Porto Seguro da Ilha de Vera Cruz em 1 de Maio de 1500* (Pernambuco, 1900)¹¹ was sent back to Lisbon before Cabral continued his voyage to India.¹² With it went another letter written by the astronomer of the expedition, Mestre João, Physico d'El Rei, with the same date.¹³ The original of Cabral's account has been lost, but, in 1507, Montalbocco edited a version in the collection of voyages, **Paesi nouamente retrouati*, published in Venice. It was translated into Latin, thence by Ramusio into Italian, and about 1820 into Portuguese by the

¹¹ The letter was first correctly printed in *Collecção de Notícias para a Historia e Geographia das Nações Ultramarinas*, IV. no. 3. It was reprinted in *Revista*, XL (1877), pt. 2. A critical discussion of the letter, its author, and the various publications of the letter by J. Capistrano de Abreu was published in the *Revista*, LXXI. (1908), pt. 2. An incorrect version was published in Venice in 1507. The Academia Real das Sciencias published three sets of collections valuable for material on Brazil: *Collecção de livros ineditos da historia portugueza* (Lisbôa, 1790-1824, 5 vols.); *Collecção de Notícias para a historia e geographia das nações ultramarinas* (Lisbôa, 1812-1841, 7 vols.); and *Collecção de Opusculos reimpressos relativos á historia das navegações, viagens, e conquistas dos Portuguezes* (Lisbôa, 1841-. vol. 1-). The second collection is especially valuable for material on Brazil.

¹² Francisco A. de Varnhagem discovered and copied "Fragmentos que existem na Torre do Tombo das Instruções dadas por El-Rei D. Manoel a Pedro Alvares Cabral, quando chefe da armada, que indo á India descobriu casualmente o Brazil" (*Revista*, VIII. [1846]).

¹³ Mestre João's letter, copied by Varnhagem, was published in *Revista*, V.

Academia Real das Sciencias of Lisbon for publication in the *Collecção de Notícias*. For the discoveries of Amerigo Vespucci, George T. Northrup, *Vespucci Reprints, Texts and Studies* (Princeton, 1916) probably furnishes the best text. The six contemporary accounts of Magellan's voyage were translated into English by Lord Stanley of Alderley under the title *The First Voyage Around the World by Magellan* (London, 1874. Hakluyt Society Publications).

Two voyages to Brazil prior to the fleet sent out under Martim Affonso were recorded in the letter: "Carta de Diego Garcia . . . 1526" (*Revista*, XV. [1852]), and "Carta de Luiz Ramirez . . . 1528"¹⁴ (*Revista*, XV.). The first extensive description of Brazil was written by Pero Lopez de Sousa, *Díario de Navegação da Armada que foi a terra do Brazil em 1530 sob a Capitania mor de Martim Affonso de Sousa, escripta por seu irmão*.¹⁵ Eight years later Diego Nunes wrote his "Carta . . . escripta a D. João III acerca do descobrimento de Sertões aonde podia chegar atravessando a terra de S. Vicente".¹⁶ Gonzalo Pizarro's expedition to the land of cinnamon (1539-1542) and Orellana's voyage down the Amazon (1540-1541) have been translated and edited by Clements R. Markham in *Expeditions into the Valley of the Amazons* (London, 1859. Hakluyt Soc. Pub.).

In 1540, the English received first-hand information about Brazil from the depositions of the crew of the ship *Barbara*, taken preparatory to their trial for piracy. "The Voyage of the Barbara to Brazil, Anno 1540", edited by R. G. Marsden, was published in the Navy Records Society, *Publications*, XL.: *The Naval Miscellany*, II. (London, 1912). Gaspar Carvajal's account¹⁷ of his discoveries in the Amazon dates from 1540-1544. One of the most famous of the early accounts is that of Hans Staden who in 1547 sailed to Pernam-

¹⁴ This letter is of unusual interest. Besides recording a voyage along the coast, it speaks of an expedition to the Incas before 1526 during the days of Huayna Capac.

¹⁵ The diary was copied by Varnhagem from the manuscript in the Torre do Tombo and printed in Lisbon, 1839. A second (unauthorized) edition appeared in 1847. The publication in the *Revista*, XXIV. (1861) was the fourth edition of the diary. It was prepared by Varnhagem.

¹⁶ The letter is the report of an expedition which set out from Perú in 1538 to explore eastward. It reached the hinterland of Brazil. Varnhagem copied the letter which was published in *Revista*, II.

¹⁷ *Descubrimiento del Rio de las Amazonas según la Relación hasta ahora Inédita de Fr. Gaspar Carvajal* (José Toribio Medina, ed., Seville, 1894).

bucos on board a vessel engaged in the Brazil-wood trade. Two years later his vessel, destined for Santa Catharina, was wrecked off the coast of São Vicente and Hans was held prisoner by the Indians until he escaped in 1555. His account was first published in Marburg in 1557 as **Warachtige Historie*.¹⁸ A contemporary of Staden, Ulric Schmidel, spent nearly twenty years (1535-1554) in the Rio de la Plata region and in southern Brazil. His **Vera Historia* was first published in Sebastian Franck's *Weltbuch*, edition of 1567. Almost as famous as Staden's account are the commentaries of Cabeça de Vaca who traveled overland from the coast of present-day St. Catharina to Asunción after 1541. His expedition served as a basis for Spanish claims to possession of the region south of Iguapé. His account¹⁹ was published as **Commentarios de Alvar Núñes Cabeza de Vaca, Adelantado y Gobernador de la Provincia del Rio de la Plata* (Valadolid, 1555).

The second²⁰ French work on Brazil was that of Jean de Lery, **Histoire d'un voyage fait en la Terre du Brésil* (La Rochelle, 1578). A translation²¹ by T. Alencar Araripe was published in *Revista*, LII. (1889), pt. 2. Lery came to Brazil in 1557 from Geneva as a missionary sent by Calvin to the French settlement founded by Villegaignon in Rio. He returned to Europe the next year. Another long account written in the sixteenth century is that of Antonio Knivet, "Narração da Viagem que, nos annos de 1591 e seguintes, fez Antonio Knivet da Inglaterra ao Mar do Sul, em companhia de Thomaz Candish"²² (*Revista*, XLI. [1875], pt. 1. Trans. from the

¹⁸ An English translation was published by the Hakluyt Society, 1874, translation by Albert Tootal and notes by Richard F. Burton. In Portuguese the best version is the edition published by the Companhia Editora Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, N. D., under the title *Hans Staden, O Meu Captivo entre os Selvagens do Brasil*.

¹⁹ An English translation is available in the Hakluyt Society Publications. Tristão de Alencar Araripe prepared a Portuguese version which was published in the *Revista*, LVI. (1893), pt. 1.

²⁰ The first French work on Brazil was that of André Thevet, **Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique* (Paris, 1558).

²¹ A new translation by Monteiro Lobato, which is in the Library, was published in Rio de Janeiro in 1926. José Carlos Rodrigues considered Lery's account more reliable, accurate, and interesting than Thevet's.

²² His account, written in English, was translated into Dutch and published in Peiter van der Aa's collection of celebrated voyages, Leyden, 1707.

Dutch into Portuguese by J. H. Duarte Pereira). Knivet traveled through Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo.

Dutch and Portuguese voyages to Brazil during the first quarter of the seventeenth century were recorded by Hessel Gerritsz in an unpublished manuscript which the Biblioteca Nacional at Rio de Janeiro acquired in 1902. The manuscript, translated and published in *Annaes*, XXIX. (1907), under the title "Journaux et Nouvelles Tirées de la Bouche de Marins Hollandais et Portugais de la Navigation aux Antilles et sur les Côtes du Brésil", gives important geographical accounts from 1600 to 1629. The geographer obtained information from Pieter Heyn, Lambert Luffertsen, and other Dutch as well as Portuguese seamen who touched at Holland. Robert Harcourt's voyage to Guiana, 1613, records early English attempts to settle the region to the north of the mouth of the Amazon.²³

The expedition of Pedro Texeira up the Amazon to Perú, 1638-1639, is available in Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, *El Iza ó Putomayu* (Madrid, 1880). Cristóbal de Acuña's *Nuevo descubrimiento del gran río de las Amazonas*, published in Madrid, 1641 (a reprint, Madrid, 1891, is in the Duke Library), is the first book on the Amazon written by a Jesuit. The first edition was destroyed by the Spaniards to prevent the Portuguese from utilizing it. Navarrete tried for fifteen years to obtain a copy. A Portuguese translation from a Spanish copy in Rio de Janeiro was made in 1820 and published in the *Revista*, XXVIII. (1865), pt. 1. Acuña and his companion André d'Artieda accompanied Texeira on his return trip from Quito to Pará. Later P. Manuel Rodríguez (1633-1701) incorporated Acuña's account in his *El Maraño y Amazonas. Historia de los Descubrimientos, Entradas, y Reducción de naciones . . .* (Madrid, 1684), a very rare work describing the labors of the Jesuits in the Amazon region. The famous journal of Father Samuel Fritz who descended the Amazon to Pará and returned, 1689-1691, was published with introduction and notes by Rodolpho Garcia in the *Revista*, LXXXI. (1917).²⁴

²³ Robert Harcourt, *A Relation of a Voyage to Guiana by Robert Harcourt, 1613* (London, 1928. Hakluyt Soc. Pub.). The notes and bibliography by Sir D. Alexander Harris render this book invaluable in any discussion of Guiana boundary disputes.

²⁴ An English translation of Father Fritz's account of his labors in the Amazon Valley from 1686 to 1723 was published by the Hakluyt Society (1922) as *Journal of the Travels and Labors of Father Samuel Fritz in the River of the Amazons*.

An account by a Jesuit missionary in the same region, about 1738, was printed for the first time by Marcos Jiménez de la Espada as *Noticias Auténticas del Famoso Río Marañón y Misión Apostólica de la Compañía de Jesús de la Provincia de Quito* (Madrid, 1889). Fifty years later, by order (1785) of the governor, Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira explored the Rio Negro region, his diary being published as "Diario de Viagem Philosophica pela Capitania de São José do Rio Negro" (*Revista*, XLVIII., pt. 1, XLIX., pt. 1, L., pt. 2). The purpose of his expedition was to obtain information to be used in sustaining the Portuguese case in boundary disputes. At the same time, the southern boundary of Brazil was being surveyed by a special commission which labored from 1783 to 1801. An extensive diary²⁵ of the expedition, kept by José María Cabrera, was published for the first time by Melitón González in his three-volume work *El Límite oriental del territorio de Misiones (República Argentina)* (Montevideo, 1882-1886).

The travels of Prince Maximilian (Maximilian, Prinz zu Wied-Neuwied, *Reise nach Brasilien in den Jahren 1815 bis 1817*) were published at Frankfort in two large, illustrated volumes. John Mawe's *Travels in the Interior of Brazil* (Philadelphia, 1816) are excellent for information on the gold and diamond mines. Henry Koster, born in Portugal of English parents, manager of two *engenhos de assucar* in Pernambuco, wrote a two-volume *Travels in Brazil* (London, 1817) of value for agricultural aspects of the colony. Portions of the record of the Rodney-Graham-Bland commission, sent to South America by the United States government, apply to Brazil (Henry Marie Brackenridge, *Voyage to South America*. Baltimore, 1819, 2 vols.). The famous expedition of Spix and Martius, undertaken by the order of the king of Bavaria (Johann Baptist von Spix and C. F. Phil von Martius, *Travels in Brazil in the Years 1817-1820*) was translated by H. E. Lloyd and published in London in 1824 (2 vols.).

between 1686 and 1723. Translated from the Evora manuscript by Dr. George Edmundson. A translation of Acuña's account is available in Clements R. Markham, *Expeditions into the Valley of the Amazons* (London, 1859. Hakluyt Soc. Pub.).

²⁵ *Diario de la segunda sub-división de límites española entre los dominios de España y Portugal en la América Meridional, por el segundo comisario y geógrafo de ella D. José María Cabrera.*

A bibliography of early voyages and travels to Brazil would be incomplete without some reference to the chronicles of the kings of Portugal. Portuguese history writing dates from the time of D. Duarte (1433-1438), the first writer of importance being Ferñao Lopes who wrote the chronicles of Pedro I. (1 vol.), Fernando (3 vols.), and João I. (7 vols.). Gomes d'Azurara continued with his three volumes on João I.; Ruy de Pina (of lesser ability) wrote one volume on D. Duarte, three on Affonso V., one each on Sancho I., Affonso II. and Sancho II., and Affonso III., and two on Diniz. Bernardo da Cruz chronicled the events of the reign of D. Sebastião, and Jeronymo de Mendonça in his two volumes, *Jornada de Africa*, related the unhappy events which terminated the sixteenth century. Bernardo Gomes de Brito's twelve volume *Historia Tragico-Maritima*, João Tavares de Velley Guerreiro's *Jornada de Antonio d'Albuquerque*, and Luciano Cordeiro's *Dois Capítães da India* deal with Portugal's Eastern possessions.

Of all the Portuguese historians of the sixteenth century probably the most remarkable for his scholarship and criticism was Damião de Goes (1502-1574) who wrote a twelve-volume *Chronica d'El-Rei D. Manuel*. He traveled extensively in Europe, charged with diplomatic missions in Poland, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden. He married a Flemish woman and lived in Louvain for some time. Appointed *Guarda Mór da Torre do Tombo* (chief keeper of the royal record office) in 1548, he was dismissed later as heterodox and suffered ecclesiastical persecution. Two works of note are credited to him: **Chronica do Felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel* (Lisbôa, 1566)²⁶ and **Chronica do Príncipe Dom João II.* (Lisbôa, 1567).

In 1563, there appeared the famous history of Portuguese explorations **Tratado que compôs o nobre e notavel capitão Antonio Galvão, dos diversos e desuayrados Caminhos* (Lisbôa, 1563). A second edition (which José Carlos Rodrigues says is extremely rare as a result of the destruction of the larger part of the printing plants in the Lisbon earthquake of 1755) was issued in 1731 as *Tratado dos descobrimentos antigos e modernos, feitos até a era de 1550. Com os nomes particulares das pessoas que o figurão: e em que tempos, e as suas*

* This work was reprinted under the title *Chronica d'El-Rei D. Manuel* by the Biblioteca de Clássicos Portuguezes, Mello d'Azevedo, founder and owner, Lisbon. The chronicles referred to above were published in this series. They are in the library.

*alturas, e dos desvairados caminhos por onde a pimenta, e especiaria
vejo da India ás nossas partes.* . . . Hakluyt printed an English trans-
lation of the 1563 edition in London in 1601.

Other Portuguese historians of the sixteenth century were: Gaspar Correa (1500?-1561), **Lendas da India* (Lisbon, 1558); Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *Historia do Descobrimento e Conquista da India pelos Portugueses*²⁷ (Lisbon, 1552-1561). The library has the second edition of 1833, famous for its textual accuracy; Jeronymo Osorio, **De Rebus Emmanuelis* (Lisbon, 1571); and João de Barros, **Decadas da Asia*²⁸ (Lisbon, 1552-1615). J. D. M. Ford has edited the *Letters of João III.*²⁹ *King of Portugal, 1521-1527* (Harvard University Press, 1931).

Three sixteenth century maps showing Brazil were reproduced with notes by Rodolpho Garcia, in "Tres Mappas Quinhentistas", (*Revista, LXXXVII.* [1920]). These were: the Ribero map of 1529, the Verrazzano map (n. d.), and a map ascribed to Battista Agnese, a Genoese in Venice from 1536 to 1564. Probably the best source for maps of Brazil from 1500 to 1822 is the work prepared under the direction of José María da Silva Paranhos, Barão do Rio Branco, during the French Guiana boundary dispute. The claims of Brazil are presented in fourteen volumes (bound in eleven). Three modern maps, 122 reproductions of old maps and engravings, and twenty-one facsimiles were included. The maps date from 1500 to 1864 and many include all of Brasil; most of them are reproductions of very rare maps, the greater part being colored, and some are heightened with gold. The set was privately printed as *Question des Frontières*.

* Sabin gives 1551 as the date of the first edition. Only one known copy exists. His history relates principally to India but much material on the new world is included. Numerous reprints exist, among them a seven-volume edition printed in Lisbon, in 1833. An English translation was printed in London, in 1583. Parts I-IV are by Castanheda; VI-VIII are by João de Barreira; IX-X were promised but never published, Innocencio da Silva says. In 1929, M. Nihoff (The Hague, 1929) published twenty-one chapters of Book IX "rediscovered and now published for the first time." Castanheda is accurate and writes with good style; he is an authority on Portuguese conquests.

* Osorio studied at Salamanca, Paris, and Bologna. The *De Rebus Emmanuelis* was his greatest work. A Portuguese translation of his Latin history was published at Lisbon, in 1804-1806, in three volumes. Barros' *Decadas* were reprinted in Lisbon, in 1777-1778, in eight volumes. *Decadas II* and *III* contain material on Brazil.

* Luis de Sousa (1559-1632), **Annaes de el Rei D. João terceiro* (Lisbon, 1846) recited the chronicles of John III.'s reign.

de la Guyane Française et du Brésil (Paris, 1899-1900). For maps of discovery and exploration of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries two works (already of considerable rarity) by A. E. Nordenskiöld are of unusual value: the *Facsimile-Atlas* (Stockholm, 1889), and the *Periplus* (Stockholm, 1897). The former contains reproductions of maps printed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; the latter contains reproductions taken from manuscripts.

Further accounts of voyages and travel in Brazil prior to 1822 may be found in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (Glasgow, 1903-1905. 12 vols.); Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (Glasgow, 1905-1907. 20 vols. Reprint of the 1625 edition, Hakluyt Soc. Pub.); and Martín Fernández de Navarrete, *Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde fines del Siglo XV* (Madrid, 1825-1827. 5 vols.).³⁰

2. GENERAL HISTORIES, TREATISES, AND DOCUMENTS

Descriptive and historical works dealing with a sufficiently large portion of Brazil to make them universal rather than sectional in character appeared early in the colonial period. One of the first is *Newen Zeytung auss Presille Landt* which dates between 1509 and 1515.³¹ The first history of Brazil was written by Pero de Magalhães de Gandavo, **Historia da Provincia de Santa Cruz* (Lisbôa, 1576). Eight recorded copies are in existence. Versions of the history, which was written as propaganda to induce poor Portuguese to migrate to Brazil, are available in English (Pero de Magalhães, *The History of Brazil*, John B. Stetson, Jr., ed., Cortes Society: New York, 1922, 2 vols. A facsimile of the Portuguese original is given), in Portuguese

³⁰ Affonso d'E[seragnolle] Taunay searched through original manuscripts and rare printed works in the libraries and archives for accounts of voyages and travels in Brazil during colonial times. The results of his investigation were published in the *Revista*, XC. (1921), 393-538, and XCI. (1922), 211-336. A brief resumé of the records of travels listed is also given. Taunay's work is valuable as he is one of Brazil's most careful scholars.

³¹ In the Cortes Society Publication, No. 5, vol. II. p. 241, the *Newen Zeitung* is dated 1515. Rodolpho R. Schuller dates it 1509. Schuller gives a facsimile with a Portuguese translation in *Annaes*, XXXIII. 115-147. The pamphlet, once belonging to José Carlos Rodrigues and now in the Biblioteca Nacional, is bound with thirty-seven others, none of which dates later than 1515. Schuller reported ten original copies of the *Zeitung*, three of which are in America.

(*Revista*, XXI. [1858]), and in French (Ternaux-Compans, **Voyages, Relations, et Memoirs*, Paris [1837]). A shorter *Tratado da Terra do Brazil* by Pero de Magalhães, written in 1574 (first printed in *Collecção de Notícias*, IV.), is given in translation in the second volume of Stetson's work. An anonymous account, ascribed by the Brazilian Antonio Toledo Piza to a Jesuit priest, Pedro Rodrigues, which recorded the *Successos da Província de Santa Cruz que vulgarmente se chama Brasil* (*Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo*, III.) appeared between 1568 and 1578. Documents copied from manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional and the Torre do Tombo and dating from the same period are available in the *Annaes*, XXVII. ("Documentos Relativos a Mem de Sá [1558-1572], Governador Geral do Brasil").

A descriptive exposition of Brazil and its seven captaincies, of the governors, prelates, and foreign attacks, of religious orders in general and the Jesuits in particular, of schools, customs, and conversion of the natives was discovered by Varnhagem in Lisbon and printed in the *Revista*, VI. (1844). The *Enformação do Brasil e de suas Capitanias* carries the date 1584 on the title page.

In 1583, Fernão Cardim accompanying the Jesuit *visitador*, Christovão de Gouvêa, landed in Bahia. He traveled on special missions through the colony and to Europe. Returning from Rome in 1601, he was captured by the English corsair, Francis Cook, carried to England, and released. His manuscripts were seized, sold to one Hackett by Cook for twenty shillings, and finally fell into Purchas's hands. He published two treatises (*Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, [London, 1625], IV. 1289-1320), assigning them to "a Portugall which had long lived" in Brazil, one Manuel Tristão. In 1881 and 1885, Capistrano de Abreu discovered original copies of Cardim's work in the archives of Lisbon and identified the two works published by Purchas. He had already discovered another treatise by Cardim. The three works³² were published under one title, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil* (Rio, 1925) with introduction and notes by Baptista Caetano, Capis-

³² The three treatises were published separately by Varnhagem as he discovered them. The titles are: *Do Clima e Terra do Brasil* (1885), *Do Princípio e Origem dos Índios do Brasil* (1881), and *Narrativo Epistolar de uma Viagem e missão Jesuítica pela Bahia, Ilheos, Porto Seguro, Pernambuco, Espírito Santo, Rio de Janeiro, e S. Vicente, etc.* (1847).

trano de Abreu, and Rodolpho Garcia. The work is invaluable as source material on late sixteenth century Brazil.

The work of the second noted historian of Brazil appeared in 1587. Gabriel Soares de Sousa emigrated to Bahia (1570) where he became a *senhor de engenho*. Seventeen years later he was in Madrid seeking a publisher for his work which later Brazilian historians such as Vicente do Salvador, Antonio Jaboatão, and Simão de Vasconcellos used extensively. Gabriel Soares called his book *Roteiro Geral com largas informações de toda a costa do Brasil*.³³

The correspondence of one of the most important governors of Brazil, Diogo Botelho (1602-1608), copied from Torre do Tombo manuscripts, was published in the *Revista*, LXXIII. (1910), pt. 1. An excellent little book dating from 1611 gives the privileges conceded to citizens of a Portuguese city of second rank,³⁴ *Privilegios dos cidadãos da Cidade do Porto* (Porto, 1611). Another document of prime importance to Brazilian colonial history is the "Registo da Folha do Estado do Brazil" (*Annaes*, XXVII. [1905]), which accompanied the *alvará* of June 10, 1617. It gives the different officers existing in Brazil in each captaincy—civil, religious, and military—the number of fortifications and their relative importance, the divisions into parishes, the persons who received annuities, and the churches which were subsidized.

One of the most prized sources of information on early seventeenth century Brazil is the famous *Diologos das grandezas do Brasil*.³⁵

³³ Varnhagem, basing his work on a faulty copy, issued an edition for the Academia das Sciencias in 1825. Later, after comparing more than twenty copies in Europe and America, he prepared a definitive edition (Varnhagem says it should be entitled *Tractado descriptivo do Brazil* to fit the contents) which was published in *Revista*, XIV. (1851) with comments and notes.

³⁴ Only Lisbon and Gôa were considered cities of first rank. Oporto was granted second rank privileges. Various cities in Brazil won a similar rank; thus the pamphlet defines the privileges of the cities of Rio, Maranhão, Pará, S. Paulo, Pernambuco, and Bahia. The Duke Library has a facsimile copy.

³⁵ A faulty edition appeared in a weekly review in Rio de Janeiro (*Iris*, January, 1848-June, 1849). Varnhagem printed a complete edition in the Pernambuco *Revista* from a manuscript which he found in Holland. Capistrano had it reprinted in the *Diario Official* (February-March, 1900). The Academia Brasileira, when it began its publications in 1923, selected the Dialogues as one of its first publications. With Rodolpho Garcia as editor, the edition, based on Capistrano de Abreu's version, was finally published at Rio de Janeiro, 1930. It is the best text available.

Written in Paraiba by an unknown author, the book records a series of dialogues between two persons who continued the conversation for seven days with one day of rest. The six dialogues describe the various captaincies from the Amazon to São Vicente; the inhabitants, climate, origin of natives, etc.; the four sources of wealth (sugar, general commerce, Brazil-wood, and cotton and woods); other riches which might be developed (honey, wine, oil, dyes, etc.); air, water, and land animals; and customs of the Portuguese and Indians.

The work of the third noted Brazilian historian, Frei Vicente do Salvador, was completed in 1627. With an introduction and notes by Capistrano de Abreu, the *Historia do Brasil, escripta na Bahia a 20 de Dezembro de 1627*, is available in the *Annaes*, XIII. (1885-1886), pt. 1. Vicente do Salvador was the first Brazilian historian born in the colony. In the *Annaes*, XX. (1898), appeared also "Noticias Historicas e Militares relativas á guerra hollandeza, ataques dos Francezes ao Rio de Janeiro e outros assumptos de importancia para o Brazil, 1630-1757", twelve rare works and a manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional.³⁶ In 1663, the fourth of the more noted Brazilian historians, the Jesuit Simão de Vasconcellos (b. Bahia, 1611; d. Rio de Janeiro, 1671), published his **Chronica da Companhia de Jesus do Estado do Brazil* (Lisbôa, 1663). A part of the above work, **Noticias curiosas e necessarias das cousas do Brazil* appeared as a separate edition³⁷ in Lisbon, 1668. Another historian,³⁸ less famous, but valuable for the Portuguese-Dutch contest in Pernambuco, Francisco de Brito Freyre, published his work, **Nova Lusitania. Historia da Guerra Brasileira*, in Lisbon, in 1675.

One of the most accurate and invaluable sources of information on colonial Brazil, and the only known treatise written during the

³⁶ An entire volume of the *Revista* (XLVII., pt. 1) is devoted to the publication of colonial documents. It includes, among many valuable things, an extract from the *Memories de Monsieur Dugay Trouin* recounting the story of the attack on Rio de Janeiro, by the French in 1711.

³⁷ Innocencio da Silva says that both were included in the first edition, the *Noticias* occupying pp. 1-188; and the *Chronica*, pp. 188-528. The 1663 edition was one of the best printings of the century in Portugal, both as to paper and print.

³⁸ Pedro de Mariz (d. about 1615) published his **Diologos da Varia Historia in Lisbon*, 1594, which contains material on Spanish and Portuguese conquests with pictures of all the kings of Portugal. A two-volume edition appeared in Lisbon in 1806. Antonio de Herrera's *Historia General* (Madrid, 1601-1615) also contains material on Brazil.

transition period following 1700, was published in Lisbon in 1711. The mines had just been discovered and the sugar industry had not yet declined. Both phases of Brazilian economic life were described in detail by André João Antonil in his *Cultura e Opulencia do Brazil por suas Drogas e Minas*. His book revealed the possible wealth of the colony so clearly that the edition was suppressed immediately; only half a dozen copies escaped. An extract was published by José Mariano de Conceição Velloso in the eleven-volume **O Fazendeiro do Brazil* (1789-1806). In 1886, a complete edition taken from one of the original half-dozen copies was issued by José S. Rebello and Junius de Villenueve in Rio de Janeiro. Later Capistrano de Abreu identified Antonio as João Antonio Andreoni, rector of a Jesuit college in Bahia. A new edition with bio-bibliographical notes by Affonso de E. Taunay was published in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro in 1923. This last edition is in the library.

The fifth of the most highly esteemed colonial historians, Sebastião da Rocha Pitta, published his **Historia da America Portugueza desde o anno de 1500 de seu descobrimento até o de 1724* (Lisbôa, 1730).³⁹ The work is the result of the historical enthusiasm of the *bandeiras* and of the literary period which inspired the short-lived *academias* founded in the court of the viceroys at Bahia. Rocha Pitta (1660-1738), despite forty years of study before writing, reveals a limited critical sense with a rhapsodic and lyrical style. The work is indispensable, however.

The last of the more famous colonial historians, Antonio de Santa Maria Jaboatão, published his work, **Orbe Serafico novo Brasilico . . . Parte Primeira da chronica dos frades menores*, in Lisbon, in 1761. A Franciscan friar, born in Brazil, Jaboatão projected two parts but died before the second was published. The unedited manuscript of the second part came into the hands of the Instituto Historico, which republished the first part and printed the second part for the first time—five volumes in all—in 1858-1862 (this edition is in the library). One year after the publication of Jaboatão's history, José Mirales finished his *Historia Militar do Brazil* at the behest of the Academia Brazileira dos Renascidos which was founded, June 2, 1759, with the purpose of writing the universal history of Portuguese America. To Mirales had been assigned the task of writing the military history of

³⁹ A second edition, revised and annotated by J. G. Goes, Lisbon, 1880, is in the Duke Library.

the colony. The work cited above was the result.⁴⁰ It was never printed⁴¹ until it appeared in the *Annaes*, XXII. (1900). The history, which covers the period from 1549 to 1762, contains a wealth of information on the military establishments of the colony.⁴²

Jaboatão and Mirales were the last historians to write before the seat of government was moved to Rio de Janeiro. Between 1763 and 1822 there is little to record. The *Relação do Marquez de Lavradio Revista*, IV. [1842], 409-486, and LXXVI., pt. 1, pp. 285-360), the report which, as viceroy, the marquis drew up when he relinquished his post, is valuable for its extensive information concerning the colony in 1779. His successor, Luiz de Vasconcellos, made a similar report in 1789 (*Revista*, XXIII.). Three *officios* by the same governor, reporting on ecclesiastical and economic matters, were published in *Revista*, LI., pt. 2. Toward the end of the century, Joaquim da Cunha de Azeredo Coutinho wrote his *Memoria sobre o preço de assucar* and his *Ensaio economico sobre o Commercio de Portugal e suas colonias*.⁴³ José da Silva Lisbôa made the first attempt in Portuguese to present a complete view of maritime and commercial law in his *Principios de Direito Mercantil e Leis de Marinha* (Lisbon, 1789, 1801, 1803. 8 vols. The edition of 1874 published in Rio de Janeiro is in the library) and in 1819-1820 issued a volume on political economy entitled, *Estudos do Bem-Commun e Economia Politica* (Rio de Janeiro). As Silva Lisbôa, later Visconde de Cayrú, was a prominent figure in Brazilian affairs from 1808 to 1835, the views expressed in these two titles influenced the policy of the Brazilian empire.

In 1809, appeared the forerunner of the nineteenth century histories of Brazil written by Englishmen: Andrew Grant's *History of Brazil* (London, 1809). In 1810, 1817, and 1819 the monumental three-volume *History of Brazil* by Robert Southey was published in London. In 1822, the first volume being exhausted, a new edition of that volume with corrections and additions but with the original

⁴⁰ This and the *Culto Metrico* by José Pires de Carvalho e Albuquerque were the only works produced by the group. By royal order the *academia* was abolished, April 16, 1760, its president being imprisoned, *incommunicado*.

⁴¹ Sacramento Blake knew that the work had been written but he did not know where it was (*Dic. Bib. Braz.*, V. 99).

⁴² The names, dates, and titles of all the governors and viceroys are given.

⁴³ Both essays in one volume were republished by the Academia das Sciencias in 1828.

ument.⁵⁰ "De algumas cousas mais notaveis no Brazil (Informação Jesuitica de fins do Seculo XVI)" is available in the *Revista*, XCIV. (1923). A history of the Jesuits by a modern author, Antonio Henriques Leal, based on Jesuit chronicles, 1551 to 1759, contains many documents ("Apontamentos para a historia dos Jesuitas extrahidos dos chronistas da Companhia de Jesus", *Revista*, XXIV. [1871], pt. 2; XXXVI. [1873], pt. 2). A work destined for the service of the fathers in Jesuit missions was written by Antonio Ruiz in Spanish; another priest translated it into Abañeêngá (native Indian language); and Baptista Caetano de Almeida Nogueira prepared a Portuguese version with notes and a grammatical outline of the Abañeê language. It was published in the *Annaes*, VI., as "Primeira Catechese dos Indianos Selvagens feita pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus". The original publication carries the date 1733.

The activity of the inquisition in Brazil is illustrated in three trials for heresy, transcripts of which have been published. The first is that of João de Bolés (1560-1564), a Calvinist who came to Rio de Janeiro with the French. The transcript (published in *Annaes*, XXV. [1903]) gives the testimony, prepared by the Bishop of Bahia, destined to accompany the prisoner when he should be sent to Lisbon for trial. It is excellent also for side lights on the Portuguese-French conflict in Rio de Janeiro. The second is that of Manoel de Moraes, Jesuit priest in Pernambuco when the Dutch invaded Brazil. He led the resistance against the invader, was captured, tortured, and turned apostate. He went to Holland, married twice, received money from the Dutch for advice concerning the Brazilian situation, and returned to Pernambuco to become an agent for the Dutch Brazil-wood trade. When the Brazilians revolted in the 'forties, he switched sides again and helped expel the Dutch. Later he was sent to Portugal for trial as the inquisition had pronounced him heretic. The trial occurred in 1646-1647. He escaped and disappeared from sight. A transcript of the trial is given in the *Revista*, LXX. (1907), pt. 1. The third, the famous trial of the Brazilian poet Antonio José da Silva, 1726-1739, is printed in the *Revista*, LIX. (1896), pt. 1. Thus the three tran-

⁵⁰ The work first appeared in a periodical publication, the *Archivo Bibliographico da Bibliotheca da Universidade de Coimbra*, IV. (1904). Even the University of Coimbra no longer has a complete set. The document is excellent for information concerning the first years of colonization.

scripts illustrate the activity of the inquisition in three centuries of Brazilian history.

4. THE CAPTAINCIES

In addition to the contemporary colonial literature of discovery, general history, and the Jesuits, the Duke Library contains material which deals with the various captaincies. As a more convenient method of organization, this material will be given by captaincies in geographical rather than alphabetical order.

*Maranhão.*⁵¹ The earliest historians of Maranhão were Claude d'Abbéville, who wrote **Histoire de la Mission des Péres Capucins en l'Isle de Maragnan et terres circonvoisines*, and Ivo d'Evreux, author of *Viagem ao Norte do Brasil*. These two priests relate the story of the French occupation of Maranhão in 1612-1614. Abbéville was in Maranhão four months, Evreux for two years. Ferdinand Denis reprinted in 1864 an edition of the only known copy of Evreux's work (which exists in the Bibliothèque Nacional in Paris); Cezar Augusto Marques translated and published Denis's work in Maranhão, 1874; and Marques's work was reprinted in Rio de Janeiro, 1929. Abbéville's history (Paris, 1614) was also published in Maranhão in 1874. Fourteen years after the French were expelled, the Portuguese captured a Dutch adventurer, Gedeon Morris de Jonge. A prisoner for eight years, he escaped, induced the Dutch to conquer Maranhão, and held important posts in the region. Two of his reports and some letters preserved in Dutch archives were translated by José Hygino and published in the *Revista*, LVIII. (1895), pt. 1.

The third famous historian of Maranhão, João de Souza Ferreira, finished his *America Abreviada* in 1693. The author spent thirty years in Brazil, chiefly in Maranhão. A copy taken from the codice in the Evora Library, was published in the *Revista*, LVII., pt. 1. An appendix to this publication contains a list of the governors and bishops of Maranhão, and of the provincial governors, rectors, and captains-mors of Maranhão and Pará from 1626 to 1748. Souza Ferreira also wrote a *Descripção do Estado do Maranhão*.⁵² Early in the following century Bernardo P[ereira] Berredo wrote his *Annaes His-*

⁵¹ During a large part of the colonial period the captaincies in the Amazon River valley were united under a government, separate from the rest of Brazil, called Maranhão.

⁵² It was copied from an Evora Library manuscript and published in the *Revista*, LXXXI. (1917).

toricos de Berredo, which carry the history of Maranhão to 1718, the beginning of his administration of the colony. A third edition of his work, in two volumes, was printed in Florence, 1905. The series of colonial histories of Maranhão continues⁵³ with Francisco de N. S. dos Prazeres [Maranhão] who wrote the *Poranduba Maranhense ou Relação Historica da Provincia do Maranhão*. The manuscript, presented to the Instituto Historico by Varnhagem in 1843, was lost, but a copy was found by Cesar Augusto Marques and published in the *Revista*, LIV. (1891), pt. 1. The history ends at the time of writing (1819). The last⁵⁴ of the colonial historians of Maranhão, Antonio Ladislau Monteiro Baena (1781[-2]-1850), wrote his **Compendio das Eras da Provincia do Pará* (Pará, 1838) during the national period. Yet, since he was born during the colonial régime and his history ends in 1823, in reality his work completes that of Abbéville, Evreux, Souza Ferreira, Berredo, and Francisco Maranhão, and may be classed among the contemporary colonial writers.

Pernambuco.⁵⁵ The colonial literature of Pernambuco during the first half of the seventeenth century is concerned chiefly with the Dutch occupation and the reconquest by Brazil. The story of the Dutch conquest, 1625-1635, is given in Domingos de Loreto Couto's *Desagravos do Brazil e Glorias de Pernambuco* in eight books. A copy made from the manuscript in the Lisbon national library by the Brazilian Biblioteca Nacional was published in *Annaes*, XXIV. and XXV. The principal source for the history of the Dutch West India Company, that of Joannes de Laet, published in Leyden, 1644,

⁵³ Two visits of inspection into the interior were recorded between Berredo and Francisco Maranhão. João de São José, Benedictine bishop, visited Grão-Pará in 1762-1763. His report (printed from manuscript in the *Revista*, IX. [1847]) is interesting for descriptive data, geographical information, population, customs of the Indians, etc. Ten years later the *ouvidor* and *intendente geral* of the captaincy of São José do Rio Negro, Francisco Xavier Ribeiro de Sampaio, recorded his visit of inspection. It was published by the Academia das Ciencias in Lisbon, 1825, as *Diaria da Viagem que em visita e correição das povoações da Capitania de S. José do Rio Negro fez o ouvidor e intendente geral da mesma Francisco Xavier Ribeiro de Sampaio no anno de 1774 e 1775*.

⁵⁴ Manuscripts and documents dealing with Maranhão, many of them belonging to the Foreign Office Archives, were published in the *Annaes*, XXVI. (1904).

⁵⁵ For Parahyba there is Christovão de Gouveia's *Summario das Armadas que se fizeram e guerras que se deram na conquista do Rio Parahyba* (*Revista*, XXXVI. [1873], pt. 1), which recounts the history of the occupation of the region begun in 1575 by order of the king to prevent settlement by the French.

was translated by José Hygino Duarte Pereira (four books) and Pedro Souto Maior (nine books) and published in *Annaes*, XXX., XXXIII., XXXVIII., XLI.-XLII., as *Historia ou Annaes dos Feitos da Companhia Privilegiada das Indias Occidentaes desde o seu começo até ao fim do anno de 1636 por Joannes de Laet, Director da mesma companhia.*

The beginning of the Brazilian revolt against the Dutch was chronicled in Matheus van der Broeck, *Diario ou Narração historica de —, contendo o que elle viu e realmente aconteceu no começo da revolta.*⁵⁶ Documents dealing with the Dutch occupation,⁵⁷ copied from Evora library manuscripts, are given in the *Revista*, LVI., pt. 1. The story of the reconquest was told by Fray Rafael de Jesus, **Castrioto Lusitano. Parte I. Entrepreza e restauração de Pernambuco e das capitarias confinantes* (Lisbôa, 1679).

In 1749, the "Informação Geral da Capitania de Pernambuco" was prepared and to it was added a collection of official acts relative to the captaincy passed or issued in the first half of the eighteenth century and still in force. Some orders applied to all of Brazil, some merely to Pernambuco. From the manuscripts in the possession of the Biblioteca Nacional a publication was made in the *Annaes*, XXVIII. (1906), 117-496. Equally as valuable is the "Idéa da População da capitania de Pernambuco, e das suas annexas, extenção de suas Costas, Rios, e Povoações notaveis, agricultura, numero de Engenhos, contractos, e Rendimentos Reaes, augmento que estes tem tido, etc., etc., desde o anno de 1774" (*Annaes*, XL. [1918]). Information on Ceará, Rio Grande do Norte, Parahiba, and Itamaracá is included. Copious documents dealing with Pernambuco during the revolution of 1817, copied from the Archivo Publico and elsewhere, were published in the *Revista*, XXIX. (1866), pt. 1, XXX. (1867), pt. 1, XXXI. (1868), pt. 1. An extremely valuable source of con-

⁵⁶ A copy which belonged to José de Vasconcellos (founder of *Jornal do Recife*) and later to Alfredo de Carvalho, was used by José Hygino for the translation. The copy is now in the Oliveira Lima Collection. It is so scarce that Rodrigues failed to mention it. A translation by José Hygino was published in the *Revista*, XL. (1877), pt. 1.

⁵⁷ A curious document, the "Discurso Dirigido ás suas altezas poderosas os Estados geraes dos Paizes Baixos, sobre cousas do Brazil," translated, from a Dutch pamphlet published 1647, by Pedro Sauto Maior for the *Revista*, LXX. (1907), pt. 1, attacks the West India Company and depreciates the value of Brazil to Holland. Sauto Maior considers it propaganda by a Portuguese.

temporary colonial material is the *Revista do Instituto Archeologico e Geographico Pernambuco* (1863-. 29 vols. to 1930), a rare collection (a complete file is in the library) dealing with the center of early Brazilian culture and wealth.

Bahia. Letters from Bahia, written during the time when Manoel da Nobrega was *padre provincial*, are available in "Cartas do Padre Antonio Blasquez sobre o Brasil (1556-1565)", published by the *Revista*, XLIX., pt. 1, from original manuscripts. Another series of letters, dating 1691, written by the governor and captain general of Brazil, Antonio Luiz Gonçalves da Camara Coutinho, treats of the economic, commercial, and financial life of Bahia, then the seat of the government. His "Livro de Cartas" was published in the *Revista*, LXXI. (1908), pt. 1, also from manuscripts. The history of the founding of the schools at Bahia and Rio de Janeiro, copied from a manuscript in Rome, is told in "Historias dos collegios do Brasil", *Annaes*, XIX. (1897), pt. 3. The various decrees dating from 1506 to 1757 by which privileges of the citizens of Bahia were specified were published in the *Revista*, VIII. (1846). One of the greatest sources of documentary material on colonial Bahia is the *Revista do Archivo do Municipio da Capital do Estado da Bahia*, a quarterly review founded for the purpose of preserving the documents in the archives of the city. The first number⁵⁸ appeared in January, 1900.

Rio de Janeiro. In addition to the material on Rio de Janeiro contained in contemporary accounts of discovery and general histories there are: Eduardo Tourinho, ed., *Autos de correições de ouvidores do Rio de Janeiro . . . 1624-1699* (Rio de Janeiro, 1929), a transcript of the minutes of the sessions of the *camara* of Rio at which the *ouvidor* was present.⁵⁹ A transcript of the land grants preserved in one of the recorders' offices of Rio de Janeiro was printed in the *Revista*, LXIII. (1900), pt. 1, as "Relação das Sesmarias da Capitania do Rio de Janeiro, Extrahida dos Livros de Sesmarias e Registros do Cartorio do Tabellão Antonio Texeira de Carvalho. De 1565

⁵⁸ The library has numbers 1 (January, 1900)—16 (October, 1903).

⁵⁹ The *ouvidor*, appointed for three years by the *donatario*, each year attended a meeting of the *camara* when the acts of the various officials, local and royal, during the previous year, were examined. *Ouidores* enquired as to relations between officials and people, conspiracies, injustices, public buildings, taxes, expenditures and income, customs houses, and any other subject of interest to the city and the king. They also supervised the elections to the *camara*.

a 1796". The correspondence of the bishop of Rio de Janeiro with the governor from 1754 to 1800 is available in the *Revista*, LXIII. (1900), pt. 1, and copious documents from various sources, all dealing with the captaincy of Rio de Janeiro, were published in the *Revista*, LXV. (1902), pt. 1.

São Paulo. The Duke Library contains a large amount of material on the captaincy of São Paulo. That state has been especially active in publishing collections of unedited documents in the effort to preserve the old records from destruction by pests and climatic conditions. Of these collections the library has: *Documentos Interessantes para a historia de São Paulo*, a publication begun in 1895 by the Archivo do Estado de São Paulo (the library has vols. 1-46); *Sesmarias*, a two-volume set issued by the same department in 1921, containing transcripts of land grants from the earliest times; *Inventarios e Testamentos*, a twenty-seven volume set giving transcripts of inventories and wills; and *Documentos Historicos. Providoria da Fazenda Real de Santos* (1928-. The library has vols. 1-19), a continuation of the *Documentos Interessantes* undertaken by the Biblioteca Nacional at the instigation of Washington Luiz when he became president of Brazil. In these sets are to be found innumerable letters, decrees, contracts, reports, statistics, concessions, correspondence, etc., pertaining to every phase of the life of the captaincy and emanating from officials varying in rank from king to local municipal administrator. In addition the Archivo Municipal de São Paulo has published (1914-1923) the *Actas da Camara da Villa de S. Paulo*, 1562-1834, in twenty-seven volumes. Many more documents are available in the *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico do Estado de S. Paulo*:⁶⁰ for instance João Baptista de Campos Aguirra copied "Patentes, Provisões e Sesmarias"⁶¹ concedidas nos annos de 1721 a 1742" for the Institute (XXVI. 299-452), and "Relação das sesmarias concedidas na camarca da capital entre os annos de 1559 a 1820" (XXV. 491-568). In the *Revista* of the national historical institute (LXIX. [1906], pt. 1) there are documents concerning the mines of São Paulo and Minas. Affonso de Escragnolle Taunay selected nine maps dating from 1612 to 1837 from the Museu Paulista

⁶⁰ Vols. 17-18 are missing from the file in the library.

⁶¹ The patents, provisions, and land grants apply to the municipality of São Paulo (city), and to Paraná, Santa Catharina, Rio Grande do Sul, Matto Grosso, Goyaz, and a part of the state of Rio de Janeiro.

and published them (S. Paulo, 1922) as *Collectanea de mappas da Cartographia paulista antiga. Vol. I (unico)*. And, finally, Guilherme Young in the second part of his *Historia de Iguapé* (published in the *Revista do Inst. Hist. e Geog. de S. Paulo*, VIII.-IX.) gives extensive documents.

The two greatest colonial historians of the captaincy were Pedro Taques de Almeida Paes Leme and Gaspar de Madre de Deos. Three principal works are attributed to Pedro Taques. In 1755, he was charged with the task of ascertaining from the documents existing in the colony the legitimate *donatario* of the captaincy of S. Vicente, then called S. Paulo. A counsellor of the king, D. João de Faro, ordered him to trace the donations from Mem de Sá to 1714 when S. Vicente was taken over by the crown. As a result of his investigations, in 1772, Taques finished his *Historia da Capitania de S. Vicente desde a sua Fundação por Affonso de Souza em 1531*. From the original manuscript in the archives of the national Instituto Historico an edition was printed in the *Revista*, IX. (1847). From another original manuscript in the archives of the Institute his *Informação sobre as Minas de S. Paulo e dos sertões de sua capitania desde o anno de 1597 até o presente*, 1772 was also published in the *Revista*, LXIV. (1901), pt. 1. His third work, *Nobiliarchia Paulistana: Genealogia das principaes famílias de S. Paulo*, likewise appeared⁶² in the *Revista*, XXXII. (1869), pt. 1, XXXIII. (1870), pts. 1, 2, XXXIV. (1871), pts. 1, 2, XXXV. (1872), pts. 1, 2.

Gaspar Madre de Deos, a Benedictine, native of Santos, who after living in Bahia and Rio de Janeiro returned to spend the last thirty years of his life in his birthplace, worked with Pedro Taques in the archives of the towns, churches, government offices, and private collections of the captaincy. In 1797, he published in Lisbon his *Memorias de São Vicente, hoje chamado São Paulo do Estado do Brasil*.⁶³

⁶² A second edition with a part hitherto unedited, a biography of Pedro Taques, and a critical introduction by Affonso de E. Taunay appeared in the *Revista*, Tomo Especial, XI. (1926).

⁶³ Extracts of his history are given in *Revista*, IV., and shorter works by him are given in *Revista*, II., V., XVI. A short biography by Affonso d'Escragnolle Taunay, with a bibliography of Madre de Deos's works and of works about Madre de Deos, was published in *Revista* LXXVII., pt. 2. A modern edition recently published in São Paulo is in the library. The first edition (not in the library) is very rare.

In addition to these two historians there are two valuable works on later Paulista conditions. Marcellius Pereira Cleto's "Dissertação a Respeito da Capitania de S. Paulo, sua decadencia e modo de restabelecer-a, escripta . . . em 25 de Outubro de 1782" (written in Santos) discusses the resources, shipping, ports, mines, revenue, transportation, military forces, and governing officials of the captaincy in 1780 and gives long tables of statistics (*Annaes*, XXI. [1899]). In 1810, at the command of D. João VI. Antonio Rodrigues Velloso de Oliveira, *procurador geral* of the captaincy, prepared a *Memoria sobre o melhoramento da Província de S. Paulo*. More than twelve years later when Velloso was a member of D. Pedro I.'s council of state the *Memoria* was published. It was reprinted in the *Revista*, XXXI. (1868), pt. 1. It contains a description of the captaincy, and a discussion of its economic resources, agriculture, manufacturing, commerce, population, and administration, as they existed in 1810.

Minas Geraes, Goyaz, and Matto Grosso. From the vast captaincy of São Paulo were separated at certain times during the colonial period the captaincies of Minas Geraes, Goyaz, and Matto Grosso. An excellent description of Minas Geraes—its history, mines, income, etc.—by one who lived in the province for eleven years and utilized the records preserved in the archives may be found in the "Instrução para o governo da Capitania de Minas Geraes por José João Texeira Coelho, Desembargador da Relação do Porto" (1780), printed in the *Revista*, XV. From a manuscript by an unknown author in the Ajuda Library, a contemporary document, "Descrição geographica, topographica, historica e politica da Capitania das Minas Geraes" (1781), furnishes detailed information of the same period (a copy was made for the *Revista*, LXXI. [1908], pt. 1). Two reports, "Memoria Sobre as Minas de Ouro" and "Memoria sobre os Diamantes", by Domingos Vandelli (published in the *Annaes*, XX.) are valuable for information on the mines. Documents on the revolution led by Tiradentes, 1784-1790, have been published in the *Revista*, LXIV. (1901), pt. 1.

Various documents of interest in the history of Goyaz, such as correspondence of governors (1736-1781), the *diario* of Governor D. João Manuel de Meneses on his journey from Pará to Goyaz (1799-1800), gold and diamonds, tables, and decrees, are available in "Subsidios para a historia da Capitania de Goyaz (1756-1806)", published

in the *Revista*, LXXXIV. For colonial Matto Grosso there are: José Barboza de Sâ's "Relação das Povoaçãoens do Cuyabá e Matogroso de seos principios thé os presentes tempos" (dated August 18, 1775), printed in the *Annaes*, XXIII. (1901), and Luiz d'Alinecourt's "Rezultado dos Trabalhos e Indagações Estatisticas da Provincia de Matto-Grosso" (Cuyabá, 1828), also printed in the *Annaes*, III., and VIII. The latter contains information on the geography, finances, history, transportation, etc., of the captaincy in 1820.

Rio Grande do Sul. In January, 1921, the first number of the *Revista do Archivo Publico do Rio Grande do Sul* appeared. Founded by legislative decree to publish historical and geographical documents not reserved as secret, the *Revista* collects, coördinates, catalogues, and publishes without comment documents concerning the province and state. To 1930, twenty-four volumes were issued.⁶⁴ The *Revista* is an excellent source for land grants, inventories, documents relating to wars and boundary disputes, correspondence, the missions, etc. In addition to this state publication, the *Revista* of the Instituto Historico has carried long series of documents dealing with the captaincy: "Documentos relativos á historia da Capitania, depois Provincia de S. Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul", collected by Francisco Ignacio Marcondes Homen de Mello, include the dates 1729 to 1831 (*Revista*, XL., pt. 1, XLI., pt. 1, and XLII., pts. 1, 2); and "Documentos sobre o Rio Grande de S. Pedro, Santa Catharina, e Colonia do Sacramento, etc.", taken from the *Archivo Publico*, deal largely with the period from 1762 to 1778 (*Revista*, XXXI. [1868], pt. 1).

ALAN K. MANCHESTER.

Duke University.

⁶⁴ A complete set exists in the Duke Library.

DESCRIPTIVE CALENDAR OF SOUTH AMERICAN
MANUSCRIPTS IN THE NORTHWESTERN
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

(Continuation)

CHAPTER IX

1765-1779

(a) REAL AUDIENCIA, Government ad Interim

1765, June 25.

No. 63. A record of a mortgage, sealed, "Vn real SELLO TERCERO . . . 1758-1759". Legalized by Fernando VI's emblems and with a stamp reading "Sirve Para El Reynado Del S. D. Carlos III". Signed by Pedro Pablo de Auregui and by Crispin de Vera, notary publics.

(MB, Vol. 1. MBD, 1574-1799. Doc. 18, pp. 1-4.) [21 x 30 1/2 cm.]

1766, October 20.

No. 64. Letter from Joseph Recararren to Francisco de Oquendo dealing with ecclesiastics and with "encomienda" affairs.

(MB, Vol. 8. HL, 1701-1808. Doc. 115, pp. 1-4.) [20 1/2 x 30 cm.] One page blank.

1767, December 9.

No. 65. Letter from Gregorio B. Sánchez to Franco de Oquendo, dealing with commercial and political affairs of the state.

(MB, Vol. 8. *Ibid.* Doc. 102, pp. 1-4.) [21 x 30 7/10 cm.]

1767-(1798).

No. 66. A small piece of paper with an inscription which seems to be the title to some writing which, however, is missing. The inscription reads, "Cronica de la Ciudad de la Paz. Varios documentos. 1767-1798. Col. de N Acosta".

(MB, Vol. 8. *Ibid.* Doc. 98, pp. 1-2.) [13 4/5 x 11 cm.] Page 2 blank.

1767, circa.

No. 67. Another small sheet of paper which bears the inscription: "Para El Rejidr. Dr. Juan de Dios Mosye en la ciudad de La Paz". The opposite side of the page reads: "Al Señor don Toribio Castro, Pobes Ysla, Rejidr perpetuo del M. Y. C. de la Ciudad de La Paz, En su Hacienda de Meciapaca". Both sides are in different handwritings.

(MB, Vol. 8. *Ibid.* Doc. 99, 66, 1-2.) [16 x 18 cm.]

- 1768, January 14. No. 68. Further correspondence by the same parties mentioned in Entry No. 65, discussing state affairs, which are of historical interest.
(MB, Vol. 8. *Ibid.* Doc. 104, pp. 1-8.) [20 1/2 x 30 cm.]
- 1768, May 28. No. 69. Real estate contract. Sealed and legalized as Entry No. 63. Heading: "perteneciente esta Escritura a favor de Dn Jacobou Peralta—Dn Andres Pisarro, Cobranza". Signed by Guillermo Rozel, notary public to Carlos, III., and notary of the province of Sicasica and of the Indies and island.
(MB, Vol. 1. MBD, 1574-1799. Doc. 19, pp. 1-4.) [Pp. 1-2 21 x 30 1/2 cm; pp. 3-4 14 x 11 cm.]
- 1768, August 11. No. 70. Juridical adjustment of the Pueblo de Yrupana. It states that the document is written on plain paper because of a lack of official stationery. Made up by Dn Juan Ygnacio de Cueto Theniente de Corregidor y Justicia Maior de Su Magestad.
(MB, Vol. 1. *Ibid.* Doc. 16, p. 1.) [21 1/2 x 28 9/10 cm.]
- 1770, August 10. No. 71. Papers on the buying and selling of lands. Sealed: "Vn quartillo. SELLO QVARTO . . . 1752-1753". Legalized with the emblems of Fernando VI. and with the shield of Potosí. Signed by Esperansa Condori and accompanied by several legal certifications.
(MB, Vol. 1. *Ibid.* Doc. 34, pp. 1-8.) [21 1/5 x 30 9/10 cm.]
- 1771, June 27. No. 72. Statement of a contract between Señor Dn Philiciano Espinosa de los Montenos e Dn Franco de Oquendo.
(MB, Vol. 8. HL, 1701-1808, Doc. 105, pp. 1-2.) [20 4/5 x 31 cm.]
- 1772, circa. No. 73. Legal statement by the wife of Captain Jacobo Peralta which deals with the collection of rent from Indians. Sealed: "Vn quartillo. SELLO QVARTO . . . 1772-1773". Legalized with the emblem of Carlos III. Signed by Ysabel Flores.
(MB, Vol. 1. MBD, 1574-1799, Doc. 24, pp. 1-2.) [21 7/10 x 31 cm.]
- 1772, circa. No. 74. Group of tables on loose sheets of paper: P. 1, Arithmetic table; p. 2, Table of money and of year equivalents; p. 3, Arithmetic table. These pages are probably part of a textbook.
(MB, Vol. 12. Misc. Docs. 1772-1826. Doc. 501, pp. 1-4.) [15 1/5 x 21 cm.]
- 1772, circa. No. 75. Table of arithmetic and money equivalents prepared by Fernando Pinto. Both margins are ornamented, but the left margin has been burned.

- (MB, Vol. 12. *Ibid.* Doc. 502, pp. 1-2.) [21 7/10 x 31 1/2 cm.]
- 1772, January 21. No. 76. Letter to Captain Jacobo Peralta of San Pedro de Coroico from Casimiro Sacasar of Coroico.
(MB, Vol. 12. *Ibid.* Doc. 573, pp. 1-4.) [14 9/10 x 19 1/10 cm.]
- 1772, April 12. No. 77. Record of certifications by Jacobo Peralta, "Capitan de Infanteria Espanola del Puerto de Sn Ygnacio de Infieles de Pueo de Coroyco Prova de Sicasica" and Cobrador de Alcabalas, in relation to a testament. Sealed: "Vn real. SELLO TERCERO . . . 1766-1767". Legalized with the emblems of Carlos III. and stating "PARA LOS AÑOS DE 1771 y 177". Signed by Captain Jacobo Peralta and others.
(MB, Vol. 1. MBD, 1574-1799. Doc. 20, pp. 1-4.) [21 1/5 x 30 9/10 cm.]
- 1772, August 7. No. 78. Letter by Sr. Aragon appointing Dr. Sebastian Terro, presbyter of La Paz, to collect 7,000 pesos from Don Francisco Pilarte. According to this statement, it is shown that the annual rate of interest on a loan was 5 per cent.
(MB, Vol. 1. *Ibid.* Doc. 38, pp. 1-2.) [21 2/5 x 28 1/2 cm.]
- 1773, March 3. No. 79. Legal papers on purchase of land bought by the heirs of Lucas Condori. Sealed: "Vn quartillo. SELLO QVARTO . . . 1754-1755". Stamped with the emblems of Fernando IV. and legalized with the emblems of Carlos III. and with those of the province of Potosi.
(MB, Vol. I. *Ibid.* Doc. 30, pp. 1-4.) [21 x 30 1/2 cm.]
- 1773, October 20. No. 80. A deed made out by Judges Don Thomás Mamami and by Don Francisco Castillo, Alcaldes Ordinarios of the Santuario de Nuestra Señora de Chuchulaya in the pueblo de Combaya, province of Larecaja. The deed divides the property among Don Felipe Murillo and Doña Petrona de Sosa, heirs of Francisco Bargas. Sealed: "Un quartillo. SELLO QVARTO . . . 1766-1767" and indicates "Para los años de 1771 y 1772" and "1773 y 1774". Stamped with the emblems of Carlos III. Signed "Por mandado de los Sr Aldes" by Bartholome Lopes Hidal Botillo, Frano Vargas and by Eusebio Pinto.
(MB, Vol. 21. ACE Fam Mat., 1800-1870. Doc. 339, pp. 1-4.) [20 1/2 x 30 4/5 cm.]
- 1773-(1801). No. 81. Part of the bookkeeping on the property of the presbyters Cayetano and Mateo Aríñez. This portion deals especially with income from rents on buildings.

they own. The heading reads "Quenta y Raza de los harriendos qe han producido las casas de los Ss Curas Dn Cayetano, y Don Mateo Ortiz de Ariñez, desde lo de Febo del año pdo de 1800 que me encargara su Cobro hsta lo de Febrero del Corte año de 1801. Es en la forma signte".

(MB, Vol. 20. MBD, 1800-1829. Doc. 182, pp. 1-4.)
[21 x 30 cm.]

1733-1734, *circa.*

No. 82. Letter of petition by Capitan Jacobo Peralta, addressed to the commissioner of judges of the city of La Paz, concerning his property. Sealed: "Vn quartillo. SELLO QVARTO . . . 1766-67". Stamped with the emblem of Carlos III. and indicating: "Para los años de 1773 y 1774". Incomplete.

(MB, Vol. I. MBD, 1574-1799. Doc. 32, pp. 1-2.) [21 1/2 x 31 cm.]

1774, July 29.

No. 83. Group of records in regard to inheritance to be devided among the heirs Licenciado Don Lorenzo Loaira, presbyter of La Paz, Licenciado Don Caietano de Loaira, Cura propio, and Licenciado Don Narsiso Hernani, Clergyman of *menores ordenes*.

Page 1 is a letter of petition by Father Lorenzo directed to the Corregidor y Justicia Mayor of the same city. Sealed: "SELLO TERCERO, VN REAL . . . 1758-59". Stamped with the emblems of Fernando VI., and indicating "Sirve para el reynado del S. D. Carlos III", and "Para los años de 1773 y 1774". Issued in Sorattay by the above mentioned presbyter.

Page 2: Decree in favor of the Father's petition, signed by Conde del Valle de Oselle of the Order of Santiago, colonel of the army in Alto Perú, corregidor y justicia mayor, lieut. and capitán general of the province of Larecaja and alcalde mayor of the minas and registros.

Page 4: "Citación" and other legal papers by Angel Germino, Joseph Areaire, Joseph de Artega, Pedro de Sosa and others. It deals also with claims of debts and with collection of rents from Indians.

(MB, Vol. 1. *Ibid.* Doc. 31, pp. 1-8.) [21 1/5 x 30 4/5 cm.]

1774, June.

No. 84. Part of the bookkeeping of Don Joseph de Murguia, covering a period from October 29, 1771 to June 1774 and amounting to 302,380.02 pesos. The heading reads: "Cuenta de cargo y Descargo del dinero que Entra en mi poder Pertenciente a dn Josef de Vea Murguia y en su fallecimiento a las Menores sus Hijas".

cuio Tutor es El dr. dn Anto de Zaldibar y Agramont". The text, beautifully written and well preserved, contains detailed information on various business transactions and is accompanied by tabular summaries.

(MB, Vol. 8, HL, 1701-1808, Doc. 121, pp. 1-18.) [20 1/2 x 29 1/2 cm.]

1774, September 3.

No. 85. Petitions of Jacobo Peralta addressed to the general of the Peruvian army. Sealed: "Vn real. SELLO TERCERO . . . 1772-1773".

(MB, Vol. 1. MBD, 1574-1799, Doc. 22, pp. 1-2.) [21 x 31 cm.]

(b) Don MANUEL DE GUIRIOR, Viceroy

1775, August 3.

No. 86. A will, contested by Father Fray Joseph Hurtado de Mendoza, prior of the convent of San Jacinto de Predicadores, who contended that the convent sold him property which was given to them by Don Pedro de Arze. This statement was denied by the community. The prior is therefore accused by the community of having illegally appropriated some of their buildings, funds, and lands. The court pronounced a sentence against the accused prior and other ecclesiastics involved in this case, decreeing that the prior and his accomplices be removed from office, their homes taken as reimbursement, their general ecclesiastical rights surrendered, their citizen rights be taken away and they be required to leave the city of La Paz. Sealed: "Seis reales. SELLO SEGVNDO . . . 1758-1759". Legalized with the emblems of Fernando VI. and indicating "Para los años de 1765 y 1766" and "Sirve para el Reynado del S. D. Carlos III". Signed by several witnesses and by the notary, Crispin de Vera y Aragon.

(MB, Vol. 1. MBD, 1574-1799, Doc. 21, pp. 1-4.) [20 1/2 x 30 1/2 cm.]

1775, August 8.

No. 87. Petition from Captain Jacobo Peralta directed to the general of La Paz. Sealed: "Vn real. SELLO TERCERO . . . 1772-1773". Legalized with the emblems of Carlos III. and stating "PARA LOS AÑOS DE 1771 Y 1772". Accompanied by certifications and deals with the reclamation of hereditary property. MB, Vol. 1 MBD, 1574-1799, Doc. 21, pp. 1-4.) [20 1/2 x 30 1/2 cm.]

1775-1776.

No. 88. Deed of authorization promulgated in La Paz. Sealed: "Vn real. SELLO TERCERO . . . 1772-1773". Legalized with the emblems of Carlos III. and

bearing the statement: "PARA LOS AÑOS DE 1775 Y 1776". Signed by the notary public, Crispin de Vera Cruz."

(MB, Vol. I. *Ibid.* Doc. 39, pp. 1-4.) [21 1/5 x 31 cm.]

1776, circa.

No. 89. Petition to the general of the Peruvian army by the curator, Justo Luis de Osorio, on the question of rights for minors. Sealed: "Vn quartillo. SELLO QVARTO . . . 1772-1773". With the emblem of Carlos III. and designating: "PARA LOS AÑOS DE 1775 I 1776". This is almost a unique record of this nature. (MB, Vol. 1. *Ibid.* Doc. 35, pp. 1-2.) [21 3/10 x 31 1/5 cm.]

1776, circa.

No. 90. Petition to the corregidor in reference to Entry No. 89. Sealed and legalized as previous entry. Signed by Justo Luis de Osorio and by Conde de Alastaya of the land of Chirinoso of Coroyco.

(MB, Vol. 1. *Ibid.* Doc. 37, pp. 1-2.) [21 1/2 x 31 1/5 cm.]

1776, May 31.

No. 91. An episcopal official statement in Latin, identifying José Cayetano Ortiz de Ariñez as qualified to be a presbyter. The heading reads: "Nos D. D. Gregorius Franciscus de Campos, Dei, et Apostolicæ Sedis gratia. Episcopus Pacensis, Catolicae Majestatis à Consilia &c". Signed by Joannes Antonius à Zepeda, secretary to the bishop of Alto Perú, and sealed with a hand made emblem of the episcopate which has an inscription in Latin.

(MB, Vol. 13. Ariñez, 1776-1826, Doc. 127, pp. 1-2.) [21 x 31 cm.]

1776, June 1.

No. 92. Another official statement in Latin of the same nature and by the same authorities. Issued to J. C. Ortiz Ariñez.

(MB, Vol. 13. *Ibid.* Doc. 128, pp. 1-2.) [21 x 21 cm.]

1776, June 7.

No. 93. Another canonical instrument from the same authorities and referring to the same person as discussed in the previous entry.

(MB, Vol. 13. *Ibid.* Doc. 129, pp. 1-2.) [21 x 31 cm.]

1776, September 21.

No. 94. An episcopal edict in Latin giving the presbyter, José Cayetano Ortiz de Ariñez, the privilege of praying in the aboriginal language, Aymarà. Signed by the same authorities mentioned in previous entries.

(MB, Vol. 13. *Ibid.* Doc. 130, pp. 1-2.) [21 x 31 cm.]

1776, November 9.

No. 95. A canonical permit issued to the above mentioned presbyter by Dr. Don Phelipe Loaira de la Vega, head of the church of La Paz and governor vicar general

of the bishopric of this city. Authorizes Ortiz Ariñez to celebrate public masses during the year.

(MB, Vol. 13. *Ibid.* Doc. 131, pp. 1-2.) [21 1/2 x 31 cm.]

- 1777, February 20. No 96. Canonical permit and outline containing eight provisions for the conduct of the presbyter, Licenciado José Cayetano Ortiz de Ariñez. The heading reads: "Nos el Dor Dn Phelipe Loaira de la Vega, Canonigo Doctoral de la Santa Iglesia Cathedral de esta Ciudad de Nra Sa de la Paz, Gobern^r Provr y Vicario General en ella, y su Obispado por el Illustrissimo S^r Dr. Dn Gregorio Francisco de Campos, mi Señor Digno Obispo de esta Diocesi del Consejo de S. M. &c". Signed by V. Ynocencia Amarola.

(MB, Vol. 13. *Ibid.* Doc. 132, pp. 1-4.) [21 1/2 x 31 cm.]

- 1777, February 25. No. 97. Departure of freight to Tarapaca through Don Alonso Rodriguez de Judanca.

(MB, Vol. 26. Cash BK., 1777-1814. [Orig. tit. LC] Doc. 449, p. 42 beg.) [20 x 30 cm.]

- 1777, March 4. No. 98. Rare print of a decree in regard to the restoration of civil rights to Dr. Francisco Tadeo Diez de Medina, who was persecuted by the audiencia. One part is signed by Guirior and Ureta, and the other two by Pedro de Ureta.

(MB, Vol. 1. MBD, 1574-1799, Doc. 40, pp. 1-4.) [20 3/10 x 30 7/10 cm.]

- 1777, September 12. No. 99. Record of an extension of credit to Gregorio Palsa.

(MB, Vol. 26, Cash Bk., 1777-1814. [Orig. tit. LD] Doc. 449, p. 45, beg.) [20 x 30 cm.]

- 1777, December 18. No. 100. Debt of an official who belonged to the Carpenteria de la Puente Falsa de las Monjas.

(MB, Vol. 26. *Ibid.* Doc. 449, p. 43, mid.) [20 x 30 cm.]

- 1777, December 23. No. 101. Three entries of debts by Don Joseph Barra and other clergymen.

(MB, Vol. 26. *Ibid.* Doc. 449, p. 43 beg.) [20 x 30 cm.]

- 1777-(1814). No. 102. An assortment of documentary material composing an indexed cash-book belonging to Antonio Francisco Cueto. The binder is originally numbered from 3 to 127 folio but renumbered (by me) as 232 pages and contains about 2,000 entries of different transactions. The volume in a parchment binding is damaged by water.

Some of its pages are torn, some are loose and still others are missing.

(MB, Vol. 26. Cash Bk., 1777-1814. [Orig. tit. LC] Doc. 449, pp. 1-226.) [20 x 30 1/2 cm.]

1778, September 1.

No. 103. Registry of a debt owed by Doña Narcisa Calderón.

(MB, Vol. 26. *Ibid.* [Orig. tit. LC] Doc. 449, p. 45, mid.) [20 x 30 cm.]

1778, September 24.

No. 104. Statement by the Alcalde Don Lorenzo Ayreguanaco of the Santuario de Chuchulaya that on said date Mario Serpedes and his mother-in-law Doña Juana Sosa took responsibility to pay a contribution to the vicar Don Juan de Dios Espinosa de los Monteros. The contribution was the type of gift inhabitants of small places usually gave to the vicars for conducting mass.

(MB, Vol. 23. AF, 1805-1850. Doc. 600, pp. 1-2.) [20 1/2 x 15 1/10 cm.]

1778, December 20.

No. 105. Record of the expenses of Don Leonoro Giraldo.

(MB, Vol. 26. Cash Bk., 1777-1814. [Orig. tit. LC] Doc. 449, p. 44, beg.) [20 x 30 cm.]

1778-(1800).

No. 106. Royal letter of provisions to the officials of the Hacienda and of the Cajas of La Paz. Written by Sebastian Antonio Toro, scrivener of the Camara. Sealed: "Un quartillo. SELLO QVARTO, VN QVARTILLO . . . 1774-1775". Stamped with the emblems of Carlos III. and indicating: "Para Los Años de 1777 y 1778". Begins: "Don Carlos por la gracia de Dios Rey de Castilla", etc. Deals with regulations in regard to the collection of Tributos Reales. Legalized with a hand-made seal and signed: Juan Muñez, Manuel Sagarnaza, and Crispin de Vera y Aragon.

(MB, Vol. 12. Misc. Docs. 1772-1826. Doc. 515, pp. 1-8.) [21 1/2 x 31 cm.]

1779, circa.

No. 107. Registry of the debt of Don Juan Aguiom Sardas. Two pages have been clipped out.

(MB, Vol. 26. Cash Bk., 1777-1814. [Orig. tit. LC] Doc. 449, p. 41 beg.) [20 x 30 cm.]

1779, March 12.

No. 108. Record of expenditures.

(MB, Vol. 26. *Ibid.* Doc. 449, pp. 44, beg.) [20 x 30 cm.]

1779, March 24.

No. 109. Record of a sale of linen. This and Entries Nos. 97, 99-103, 105, 107, and 108 belong to one volume.

They have been treated separately because of different dates.

Pages 48 to 226 constitute the balance of this volume. This portion is made up of several hundred entries and registries of the commercial transactions and private affairs of Don Antonio Francisco Cueto, who owned a large store and handled every type of food and merchandise. A store of this kind was unusual in Peru.

In his cash book Sr. Cueto entered every item of goods purchased and sold, thus furnishing an index of prices. He also kept account of all monies loaned, and the rate of interest on loans. He also registered in his cash book the names and birthplaces of his clients, both those of America and those of Spain. Such information gives us some idea of Spanish immigrants in Peru as late as 1814.

(MB, Vol. 26. *Ibid.* Doc. 449, pp. 47-226.) [20 x 30 cm.]

1779, May 15.

No. 110. Important group of documents from the office of the notary public, Crispín de Vera y Aragón. Sealed: "Seis reales. SELLO SEGVNDO . . . 1778-1779" with the stamp of Carlos III., and indicating: "Para los años de 1779 y 1780".

Pages 1-2: Statement by Father Fray Juan Albares de Paz, prior and canon of the convent of San Jasinto de Predicadores of La Paz. The friar maintained that Pedro de Arze, son of Luis de Arze, both distinguished citizens and honorary members of the Catholic Order of Alto Perú, had willed him a building, two and a half blocks distant from the convent and other valuable properties. Other friars averred that the said property was left to the convent and not to Fray Juan Albares de Paz. However, the latter announced his intention of selling the building to Mateo Fagle and his wife, Doña María Jossefa de Murillo.

Pages 2-5: Compact between Fray Juan Albares de Paz, Fray Juan Fernández Córdova, Fray Ignacio Sandoval, head of the convent, Fray Fernando Arrosola, Fray Remigio Oroscó, Fray Domingo Martínez Regente, Fray Juan Bustamente, Fray Josef Zardán, and Fray Augustín Zardán. They agreed that, since Fray Juan Albares de Paz could not own property, the income from the legacy of Pedro de Arze should go to the convent.

Pages 5-7: A second compact between the same friar

and other friars represented by the head of the convent, Fray Ignacio Sandoval. It was agreed that since Mateo Fagle and his wife wished to buy the property for 1,500 pesos, and since Fray Juan Albares de Paz consented to turn over the money from the sale to the convent, its members do not object to said sale, even though they claimed the property belonged to the convent.

Pages 7-10: Third and last compact, reënforcing the previous ones, in which the aforementioned members of the convent declared themselves competent to take charge of the commercial transaction of Father Fray Juan Albares de Paz.

Pages 10-19: Final proceedings in the sale of the above mentioned building.

(MB, Vol. 5. SL, 1682-1833, Doc. 88, pp. 1-20.) [20 1/2 x 31 cm.]

1779, June 18.

No. 111. Record of lawsuit, directed to the superintendent and judge of real estate, for payment due on agricultural products. Heading reads: "Executivos contra Dn Martin Lanza qe sigue Barea á Nombre de Dn Jacobo Perlata pr 9 Sestos de Coca y Otros Agravios". Sealed: "Vn real. SELLO TERCERO . . . 1758-1759". With the emblems of Fernando VI, and marked: "Vn quartillo para los años de 1779 y 1780". Signed by the prosecutor and by judges and other juridical authorities. (MB, Vol. 1. MBD, 1574-1799. Doc. 25, pp. 1-4.) [21 1/2 x 31 cm.]

1779, June 24.

No. 112. Personal letter by Don Miguel Monroy dealing with private affairs.

(MB, Vol. 12. Misc. Docs. 1772-1826. Doc. 514, pp. 1-4.) [15 3/10 x 21 cm.]

1779, July 12.

No. 113. Legal petition directed to the sectional judge of La Paz in regard to the lawsuit instituted by Captain Jacobo Peralta. Sealed: "Vn real. SELLO TERCERO . . . 1752-1753". With the emblems of Fernando VI, and indicating, "Vn quartillo para los años de 1779 y 1780". Accompanied by statements and certifications.

(MB, Vol. 1. MBD, 1574-1799. Doc. 26, pp. 1-8.) [21 x 31 cm.]

1779, July 28.

No. 114. Record of a cancellation of a debt by Don Francisco Cueto.¹²

(MB, Vol. 26. Cash Bk., 1777-1814. [Orig. tit. LC] Doc. 449, p. 46, beg.) [20 x 30 cm.]

¹² Cf. Entry No. 109.

1779, August 3.

No. 115. Legal statement by Doña María Ayllón, wife of Don Pedro de Arze, whose will¹³ precipitated the controversy about ecclesiastical property left by him for the convent of Jasinto de Predicadores. She petitions the alcalde, Vicente Penaranda, capitán of the sala de armas and alcalde of the first court district in La Paz, to get the original of her husband's testament. It contains a decree by the alcalde and despatches from other officers which are favorable to the petition.

Pages 2-6: Legal transcription of the will of the petitioner's husband.

Signed by Rafael Villanueva, notary public and by witnesses.

(MB, Vol. 5. SL, 1682-1833, Doc. 91, pp. 1-10.) [21 x 31 cm.]

1779, August 7.

No. 116. Petition by Doña María Ayllón, directed to Corregidor Don Carate, in which she also declares that her husband bought the property and gave it to the convent of Religiosos De Nuestra Padre Santo Domingo. In this paper are also statements connected with the property dispute between the convent of San Jasinto de Predicadores and the prior, Joseph Hurtado. Accompanied by despatches on the case from Don Fermín de Gil y Alipaga, general of La Paz and knight of the order of Santiago, and corregidor, justicia mayor and from Pedro de Mariaca, notary of the same province.

(MB, Vol. 5. *Ibid.* Doc. 92, pp. 1-12.) [20 1/2 x 31 cm.]

1779, August 23.

No. 117. Paper authorizing collection of indemnity by Mateo Taylas from the woman above mentioned. The heading reads: 'Autos ordinarios seguidos por . . . contra Doña María Ayllón'. Sealed: 'Un real. SELLO TERCERO . . . 1778-1779. With the emblems of Carlos III. and indicating: "Para los años de 1779 y 1780". Confirmed by Pedro de Mariaca, notary public. Torn and mended.

(MB, Vol. 5. *Ibid.* Doc. 86, pp. 1-4.) [19 1/5 x 30 1/2 cm.]

1779, August 31.

No. 118. Legal statement by Don Mateo Fagle, executor of the estate of his wife, Doña María Jofsefa Murillo,¹⁴ accompanied by despatches. Sealed and legalized as previous entry. Signed by Pedro de Mariaca and others.

(MB, Vol. 5. *Ibid.* Doc. 89, pp. 1-6.) [20 1/2 x 31 cm.]

¹³ Cf. Entry No. 110.

¹⁴ See Entry No. 110 and Entry No. 115, etc.

- 1779, August 31. No. 119. Further papers related to the case in which Doña María Ayllón is involved. They are despatched by the same officers mentioned in Entry No. 116 for Luis Castro de Lemus, in behalf of Doña María Ayllón.
 (MB, Vol. 5. *Ibid.* Doc. 93, pp. 1-10.) [21 x 31 cm.]
- 1779, September 3. No. 120. Record of expenditures by Don Francisco Cueto.²⁵
 (MB, Vol. 26. Cash Bk., 1777-1814. [Orig. tit. LC] Doc. 449, p. 44 beg.) [20 x 30 cm.]
- 1779, September 7. No. 121. Paper of sale of property to the presbyter, Juan de Dios Espinosa de los Monteros, by Pedro Sosa and Doña Petrona de Sosa. Sealed: "Un real. SELLO TERCERO . . . 1776-1777. With the emblems of Carlos III. and indicating: "Para los años de 1779 y 1780". Made out by the alcalde ordinario, Carlos Quispe and signed by Bartholomé Lópes Botello and Eusebio Pinto.
 (MB, Vol. 21, ACE., Fam. Mat. 1800-1870. Doc. 343, pp. 1-4.) [21 x 31 cm.]
- 1779, September 17. No. 122. A printed episcopal statement in Latin reading: "Nos D. D. Gregorius Franciscus de Campos, Dei, et Apostolicas Sedia Gratia Episcopus Pacencis, Catholicae Majestatis à Consilliis &c." It identifies Mateo Ortiz de Aríñez as qualified for the position of presbyter. Signed by Joannes Antonius à Zepeda, secretary to the bishop of Alto Perú. It is sealed with a handmade emblem of the episcopate of La Paz.
 (MB, Vol. 8. HL, 1701-1808. Doc. 138, pp. 1-2.) [20 1/2 x 31 cm.]
- 1779, September 17. No. 123. Another episcopal document similar in all respects to the preceding one. Signed by same authorities.
 (MB, Vol. 8. *Ibid.* Doc. 139, pp. 1-2.) [20 1/2 x 31 cm.]
- 1779, September 17. No. 124. Official document of the same nature as previous ones. It concerns the presbyter, Mateo Ortiz de Aríñez.
 (MB, Vol. 8. *Ibid.* Doc. 140a, pp. 1-2.) [20 1/2 x 31 cm.]
- 1779, September 17. No. 125. Another episcopal printed document concerning the qualifications of the presbyter, Mateo Ortiz de Aríñez.
 (MB, Vol. 8. *Ibid.* Doc. 140b, pp. 1-2.) [20 1/2 x 31 cm.]

²⁵ See Entry No. 109.

- 1779, September 27. No. 126. More petitions and despatches from the widow of Pedro de Arze, related to the case treated in previous entries.* These papers mention a new person, Doctor Balthasar de Herrera, judge in the royal court in the city of La Paz.
 (MB, Vol. 5. SL, 1682-1833. Doc. 94, pp. 1-8.) [21 x 31 cm.]
- 1779, October 26. No. 127. Paper to the alcalde of La Paz from Captain Jacobo Peralta, dealing with his commercial transactions with Licenciate Marcos Aliaga, clergyman of the city. Sealed: "Vn real. SELLO TERCERO . . . 1788-1789".
 Page 5. Records a document by Felipe Peralta which is directed to the superintendent of public affairs.
 Page 7: Similar document by Jacobo Peralta addressed to the alcalde.
 Page 9: A record by Don Leandro Peralta, presbyter and curate of Santiago, an adopted son of Captain Jacobo Peralta, outlining the disposition of his property.
 Page 13: Records the outcome of a legal consultation by Felipe Peralta.
 Page 15: Financial obligation of Jacobo Peralta. Signed by Captain Jacobo Peralta.
 (MB, Vol. 1. MBD, 1574-1799. Doc. 33, pp. 1-16.) [21 x 31 cm.]
- 1779, November 5. No. 128. Juridical instrument for collections by the attorney of Captain Jacobo Peralta. Sealed: "Vn real. SELLO TERCERO . . . 1770-1771". With the emblems of Carlos III. and indicating: "Vn quartillo para los años De 1779 y 1780". Signed by Mariano Saez de Barea and by others in the city of La Paz.
 (MB, Vol. 1. *Ibid.* Doc. 27, pp. 1-4.) [21 1/2 x 31 1/5 cm.]
- 1779-(1788). No. 129. A collection of documentary material relating to the possessions of the convent of San Jasinto de Predicadores, which are being contested. There are petitions and statements from Mateo de Faglo on November 20, 1779; from Jacobo de Castillo; from Antonio Linares; from Luis Castro de Lemus; and from Father Fray Joseph Sardán, solicitor of the convent of San Jasinto de Predicadores, at various dates. Pages 22-27 are receipts, dated April 2nd and 24th of 1780, and measuring 21 1/2 x 15 1/2 cm.

* Cf. Entry No. 110; Entry No. 115, etc.

Page 29: An account of the expenses in the litigation against Don Mateo de Faglo, followed by an itemized statement. The rest of the manuscripts in this group, accompanied by legal despatches, is further documentary material on the same subject. The last page (60) is incomplete.

The various proceedings in this case lasted at least nine years and they are therefore interesting from a juridical standpoint in that they furnish sources for a study of the legal systems of the eighteenth century in Alto Perú.

(MB, Vol. 5. SL, 1682-1833. Doc. 95, pp. 1-60.) [21 x 31 cm.]

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(To be continued)

NOTES

Miss Grace Gardner Griffin's *Writings on American History*, for 1928, appears as a supplement to the *Report of the American Historical Association* for 1928 (Washington, 1932). Many titles have reference to Hispanic America. The volume is compiled with the customary meticulous care of preceding volumes by Miss Griffin.

The Pan American Union has published (November, 1932) as No. 9 of its mimeographed Bibliographical Series, a bibliographical essay by Dr. A. Curtis Wilgus, of George Washington University, entitled *The Histories of Hispanic America*. This was compiled by Dr. Wilgus under the auspices of the Interamerican Bibliographical Association. The essay (115 pp.) contains a short foreword by Dr. L. S. Rowe, director general of the Pan American Union, in which he calls attention to the value of the work, and a short preface by James A. Robertson, chairman of the central committee of the Interamerican Bibliographical Association. In his introduction, Dr. Wilgus explains that the classification of the bibliography is chronological by centuries, while the arrangement within these divisions is generally both logical and chronological. Limitations of space permitted little bio-bibliographical treatment. This is the most pretentious work issued under the auspices of the Interamerican Bibliographical Association. It is easily one of the most important and valuable bibliographies of Hispanic American history ever published in the United States. While making no pretense of exhausting the field, it will be found of great use to all students of Hispanic American history. The essay is an excellent piece of mimeographing. Dr. Wilgus has made a judicious choice of titles, both English and Spanish, and his short remarks enhance the value of the work.

Recent issues of the *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas* of Buenos Aires have a continuation of the "Archivo General de la Nación, República Argentina" in the section devoted to "Inventarios Generales o Especiales". They have also the usual sections devoted to bibliography and notes. No. 49-50 (July-December, 1931) has the following original articles: Eugenio Corbet France, "La Isla

de Martín García y las Pretensiones de Antonio José del Texo"; M. A. Vergara, "El Hospital colonial de Jujuy en los Siglos XVII y XVIII"; Antonio Salvadores, "Un Proyecto del Gobernador Bucareli para embellecer a Buenos Aires, la Calle de la Barranca y Paseo de la Alameda"; José Torre Revello, "Relación de la Visita hecha a la Intendencia de Salta por el Gobernador Intendente, Ramón García de León y Pizarro en 1791 y 1792, con una Noticia biográfica". Documental relations: P. Grenón, S. J., "Apuntaciones sobre el Rastreador"; R. R. Caillet-Bois, "Una falsa Amenaza de Invasión Inglesa en 1740", and "Un Imforme referente a los Planes de Artigas con respecto al Paraguay a fines de 1812"; José Torre Revello, "Informe sobre Misiones de Indios existentes en la segunda Mitad del Siglo XVIII, en las Provincias del Paraguay (de los Padres Jesuitas) y de la Asunción (de los Padres Franciscanos)". No. 51-52 (January-June, 1932) has the following original articles: "Iso Brante Schweide, "Alemania ante la Independencia Sudamericana, entre los Años 1810-1825"; José Torre Revello, "Prohibiciones y Licencias para imprimir Libros referentes a América, 1737-1807"; Raúl de Labough, "Litigios de Antaño"; José Torre Revello, "La Crónica de las Exequias de Carlos V en la Ciudad de los Reyes, Año 1559". Documental relations: José Torre Revello, "Un Conflicto entre el Gobernador y el Obispo con Motivo de las Exequias de Felipe III, en Santiago del Estero, en 1622"; P. Grenón, S. J., "Riesgo de un Flete en el Año 1790"; R. R. Caillet-Bois, "La Vinculación económica entre las Provincias de Cuyo, en 1835"; Fray Reginaldo Saldaña Retamar S., O. P., "Documentos relativos al Obispo Oro". No. 53 (July-September, 1932) has the following original articles: Domingo Amunátegui Solar, "Don Bernardo de Vera y Pintado"; José Torre Revello, "Origen y Aplicación del Código Negrero en la América Española (1788-1794)"; Avelina M. Ibáñez, "Echavarria en relación con las tendencias unitarias y federales"; Carlos Leonhardt, S. J., "Establecimientos jesuiticos en Corrientes y Entre Ríos"; Fernando Marqués Miranda, "Cartografía colonial del Virreinato del Río de la Plata, Contribución al Estudio de sus Elementos inéditos"; Ladislao Thot, "Historia del Derecho Penal de América Latina" (conclusion); E[milio] R[avignani], "Aclaraciones sobre la Vida y Muerte de Rosas en el Destierro". Documental relations: R. R. Caillet-Bois, "La Misión de Antonini". No. 54 (October-December, 1932) has

the following original articles: José Torre Revello, "Libros procedentes de Expurgos en Poder de la Inquisición de Lima en 1813"; M. A. Vergara, "Jujuy eclesiástico en el Siglo XVII"; Charles R. Salit, "La Política de no Intervención de Canning en la América Española"; Fernando del Valle Lersundi, "Juan de Garay, natural de Gordejuela"; Clemente Ricci, "La Crítica religiosa como Elemento de Cultura". Documental relations: R. R. Caillet-Bois, "La Expedición de Rubin de Celis en Busca del Mesón de Tierra"; Emilio Ravignani, "El Volumen del Comercio del Río de la Plata a Comienzos del Virreinato (1779-1781)". Each number has also the section devoted to "Inventario de Documentos Publicados". The last number has a compendious index for the year 1932.

The Bulletin of Duke University, for April, 1932 (IV, No. 4) on "The Launching of a University" has an interesting list of the publications by faculty members (pp. 136-182). Among others, the writings of Drs. John Tate Lanning, Alan K. Manchester, and J. Fred Rippy are listed—all of interest for Hispanic America.

Bulletin No. 156 of the United States National Museum (Washington, 1931) is a treatise by Herbert W. Krieger, Curator of Ethnology, entitled *Aboriginal Indian Pottery of the Dominican Republic* (pp. 165 and 56 plates, 75 cents). There is a slight historical and geographical background. A valuable feature is the comparison of the pottery forms of various regions of America. There are also several interesting maps.

One would not ordinarily look for so pleasantly written a book of its type as is *A Merchant Adventurer in South America* by John Benn (London, Ernest Benn, Limited [1931], pp. [8], 139, six shillings). The volume deals mainly with South America and, aside from descriptions of scenery and people, discusses trade factors. Mr. Benn traveled to South America via New York and the Panama Canal, and has something to say of both. While he sees the Americans of the United States as competitors of the British and mentions them many times, he does so without the usual bitterness that one has grown accustomed to look for in books of this type. The book should be read by those engaged in foreign trade or manufacturing for foreign trade. In discussions of this nature, one often overlooks the point that South America is turning more and more to manufacturing. To the extent

that this develops, more and more, the character of the trade entering South America from other continents must change. Chapter VI deals with the British Exposition at Buenos Aires. To attend that exposition was evidently the reason for the author's voyage. Appendix No. I is on the Sheffield Industrial Mission to South America, August-November, 1930. One may discern in the volume a tendency at times to overemphasize the part played by Great Britain in Argentina and other places. The descriptions are excellent.

With Mr. Benn's book should be mentioned "The British Empire Trade Exhibition Number" (1931), of the British paper issued in Buenos Aires, namely *The Buenos Aires Herald*. This runs to 152 pages large magazine size and, interspersed with advertisements, contains many items on men, industries, resources, politics, and history of Argentina. It is well illustrated.

Although Professor John C. Van Dyke is known more widely, perhaps, for his books on art subjects, he has produced a number of volumes of a descriptive nature. His *In the West Indies: Sketches and Studies in Tropic Seas and Islands* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932, pp. x, 211, \$2.00) is one of these. The twelve chapters of this small book which can be read at one sitting treat of the Caribbean, Jamaica, Haiti and Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, English Islands, French West Indies, Windward Islands, the Detached Island [Trinidad], the Spanish Main, the continental Waterway, and Barro Colorado the wild life preserve—an island in Gatun Lake. In his preface he states that he has written about the islands "practically rather than politically, economically, or socially", but he has not been able altogether to ignore the wretched condition of the blacks of those islands. He believes the United States has bettered conditions in the lands in which intervention occurred; and he adds shrewdly that the canal "is our one credit mark in the eyes of the world". As one might expect, the author has a quick eye for the beauty of color and form that run riot in these lands. He is interested in the people, but for history he cares little. He is perhaps too optimistic with respect to the ability of Porto Rico to advance materially—unless economic conditions in the island are changed. On the whole, the volume is one of the best descriptive books that has recently appeared.

The Hispanic Society of America has published (1932) a *Catalogue of Paintings (19th and 20th Centuries) in the Collection of the Hispanic Society of America*, by Elizabeth du Gué Trapier. The paintings of fifty-six artists are shown, among which those of the artist Joaquin Sorolla y Bastida are notable both for their number and subjects. A number of the pictures depict scenes in Cuba, Brazil, and Mexico. The Society has also published (1932) a *Catalogue of Sculptures (thirteenth to fifteenth Centuries)* owned by the Society, by Beatrice I. Gilman.

The Macmillan Company has brought out four more of its handy little volumes of readings, namely: Teresa de la Parra, *Las Memorias de Mamá Blanca*; an abridged and adapted rendering of Don Quixote; *Artículos de Larra, de Costumbres, Política y Crítica Literaria*, and *Los Malhechores del Bien*. The first was edited by Drs. Carlos García-Prada and Clotilde M. Wilson, both of the University of Washington, and is priced at \$1.25; the second, by Dr. José Cano, of the University of Toronto, with an introduction by Miss Edith Cameron, priced at \$1.80; the third by Dr. J. Horace Nunemaker, of the State College of Washington, priced at \$1.10; and the fourth, by Drs. Irving A. Leonard and Robert K. Spalding, both of the University of California at Berkeley, priced at \$1.00. The *Artículos de Larra* is of interest to students of Hispanic history.

Machete "It happened in Mexico", by Charles Merriam (The South West Press, Dallas, Texas, pp. 231, \$2.00) is a description of life on a sugar plantation on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec in Mexico. The narrative has some value as a description of present-day conditions of the workers of such a plantation. The author's natural inclination led him to take an interest in these people and he accepted, though with some protest, the responsibility of looking after the wounds and ailments they suffered. Knowing little of medicine and hygiene, he later took a course in the United States to fit him more thoroughly for his duties.

Robert Noble Burns, who wrote the life of the gunman, Billy the Kid, has written another book on another bad man, namely, the noted Mexican bandit, Joaquín Murrieta, who terrified several districts of California for several years shortly after its acquisition by the United States. He calls his volume (which is published by Coward-McCann,

Inc., New York, 1932, at \$2.50) *The Robin Hood of El Dorado: The Saga of Joaquín Murrieta, famous Outlaw of California's Age of Gold.* In its 304 pages, the author has brought together an amazing amount of material about a bad man, but it is questionable whether there was need of another book on Murrieta, even if some new material has been added. The book is interesting in a lurid way. Undoubtedly Murrieta was forced, partly, at least, into his life of outlawry, but the doubt arises as to whether he was not after all simply following the dictate of his own inclinations. Mr. Burns has gone to sources for his information and has apparently spared no pains to get at the facts. The episode was an aftermath of the Mexican War, the acquisition of California, and the slow development of law and order out of the chaos caused by the discovery of gold in California.

COMMUNICATION

February 8, 1933.

To the Editor of the HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Sir:

May we, through your columns, draw the attention of your readers to the Eighth Seminar in Mexico which meets July 8th to 28th, 1933?

The Seminar is held under the auspices of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America and provides opportunity for study of the life and culture of the Mexican people. The Seminar, with eight years experience behind it, offers a three week's program of lectures, round tables and field trips—all planned to give a comprehensive and non-propagandist introduction to Mexico.

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The Seminar is sub-divided into small groups under the leadership of such men and women as Judge Florence E. Allen, Count Rene d'Harnoncourt, Dr. Sylvanus Morley, Professor Alfonso Caso, Dr. Moisés Saenz, Lic. Ramón Beteta, Elizabeth Wallace, Dr. Chester Lloyd Jones. Field trips are planned to many places of interest within a radius of 100 miles of Mexico City—Puebla, San Juan Teotihuacan, Tasco, Xochimilco, and Oaxtepec.

The first ten days of the program is conducted in Cuernavaca, a unique background for unhurried and thoughtful discussion. The second ten days is spent in Mexico City.

The Seminar is followed by three weeks of optional trips to the States of Michoacan and Oaxaca and to the village of Tasco.

Applications and requests for additional information should be addressed to

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